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APOTHEOSIS OF AUGUSTUS

HISTORY OF ROME,

AND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE INVASION OF THE
BARBARIANS.

By VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

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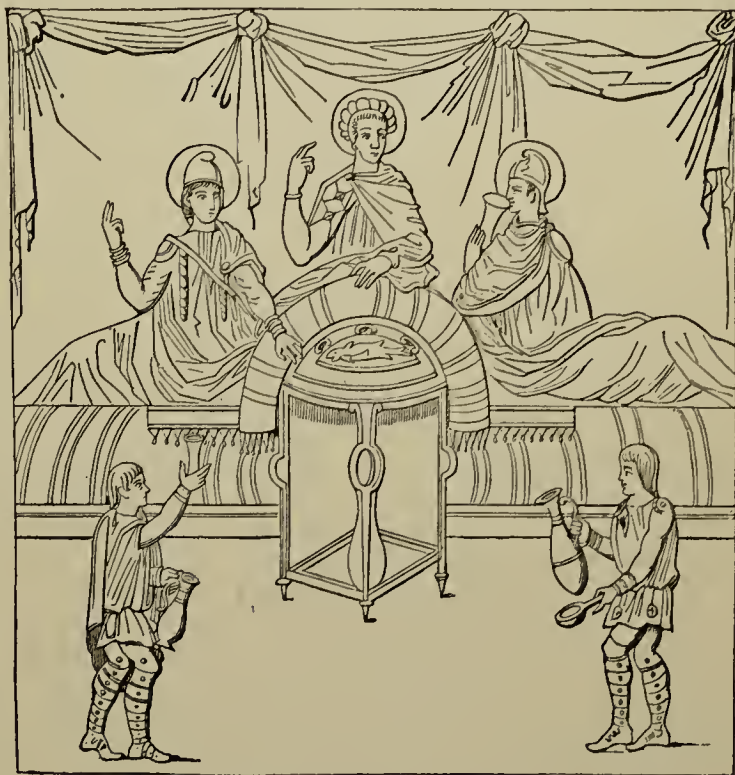
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shepherds. In beginning, Vergil proposed to himself to rival Theocritus; and yet in some lines one becomes aware of the genius which later will unfold its wings and soar above the highest summits.

It is not within our scope to speak of the style and composition in the work of the two poets. It may be observed, however, as a trait of the character of Vergil, that his heroines are much more poetic than his heroes. No man among the ancients, Sophocles and perhaps also Euripides excepted, has been able to penetrate as he has done the heart of woman, and discover the treasures of affection, of modest dignity, and of courage concealed there. Dido is the most impassioned woman whom an African sun ever burned with its fires; his Andromache is more touching than Homer's; and his Camilla has become the type of the warlike virgins whom the poets celebrate.¹



DIDO AND HER GUESTS.²

In exquisite delicacy of feeling Vergil is not of his time, and belongs still less to it by another side of his genius. The shock of the civil wars falling upon his frail and nervous organization³ made him not only a poet, but also a diviner, *vates*. When after so much bloodshed and destruction, after so many deeds of violence of "the impious

¹ [This interest in female character was a feature in the Alexandrian literature, as may be seen from the *Medea* of Apollonius Rhodius, in so many respects the prototype of Vergil's Dido. — ED.]

² Miniature from the Vergil of the Vatican, from A. Mai, *Vergil. pict. ant. ex. cod. Vatic.*, 1835.

³ He was tall, but with feeble digestion and delicate lungs.

soldier," the victory of Octavius gave ground for hopes of the return of order, he saw, with prophetic vision, rise upon the world the morning light of a peace which was to endure for two centuries. Horace celebrates its welcome approach, dear to all eyes. Now peace, now pleasure!

"Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus!"

cries the gay guest of Maecenas. The swan of Mantua utters also his cry of joy; but his great and serious thought mounts higher. He sees the renovation of the ages; the order of the centuries which begins again; and, as it were, a new race descending from the skies to diffuse throughout the world a new spirit:—

"Ultima Cumaei venit jam carminis aetas;
Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo . . .
Jam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto . . .
Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
Terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;
Aspice, venturo laetentur ut omnia saeclo!"

It is like Columbus lost upon the stormy seas, shouting to his trembling crew the saving cry, "Land! land!" and pointing out in the mists of the western horizon the new world about to emerge from the depths of the waters.

Vergil, in thus speaking, well expressed an idea which from the recesses of his poet's heart had risen to his head, expelling thence the last traces of sadness and strengthening the hope already there; but in these beautiful lines he also drew inspiration from the Etruscan traditions concerning a millennial renewal of the world; and perhaps, too, unconsciously he echoed the vague and mighty emotions with which all the East was astir, about to take form in the grand and divine personality of Jesus Christ. For the purpose of reconstructing the Sibylline books burned in the fire which consumed the Capitol, all the oracles current throughout Greece and Asia had been gathered; and from those lands where patriotism always develops itself in the religious form, many messianic predictions had been brought to Rome. The Hebrew books and those of the Mazdaeans were full of such prophecies, and the Jews had brought them to Rome;

where a prophecy of the Sibyl, perhaps set in circulation by Caesar, announced the immediate and necessary advent of a king.¹

A messiah is the faith of the religious races when oppressed; and, according to their natural genius, they expect him peaceful or warlike. How many times have the Arabs, even in our own day, believed that they saw, like the Jews of Palestine, a savior-prophet appear among them!² Etruscan, Persian, and Jewish belief,³ or Sibyl's falsehood, this idea of a peaceful redeemer possessed the soul of Vergil at the moment when those long wars seemed to end; and renouncing the habitual theme of the Golden Age, which the Greek poets placed in the early days of the world, he dared to make it a promise for the future, —

“Ferrea primum
Desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo.”

The race has become habituated to this broader view, and, with its indestructible hopes, now places in the future what formerly it placed in the past. The historian, who also looks towards that quarter of the sky where yesterday's sun went down to discover signs of what the morrow's sun shall be, loves to regard Vergil, not only as the singer of ancient times, but as the poet who had a presentiment of the future, the “gentle master” whom Dante accepted as a guide, and who has been regarded as one of the precursors of a great moral revolution.⁴

¹ Jewish books were numerous in Rome. Horace, the friend of Vergil, repeatedly mentions them (*Sat.* I. iv. and I. ix.). Cf. the famous passages of Suetonius (*Vesp.* 4), of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 13), confirmed by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 5, 4). Cic., *De Divinat.* ii. 54.

² This is the idea of Abd-el-Kader's curious book. He admires our wealth and our civilization, but reproaches us that we do not believe in messiahs. This work is an example of that peculiar condition of Oriental minds which has given rise to so many religions.

³ If needful, we might discover a Jewish and Persian idea in lines 24–25 of the Fourth Eclogue, which speak of the serpent's death, as in Genesis, and of the revival of the tree of life, —

*Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
Occidet: Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum.*

The *amomum* was to the Greeks the tree of life, the *hom* of the Mazdaecans.

⁴ One thing a little spoils Vergil for me, — he loved money and died a rich man. In the ode *Ad Vergilium negotiatorem*, Horace, who remained always poor, invites him to supper, on condition that he bring the perfumes, and begs him to relinquish business for a moment, —

Verum pone moras et studium lucri (*Carm.* IV. xii.).

Cf. Martial, v. 16. I have spoken of his chastity, — I mean as poet, although we must except the Second Bucolic; but as man it is quite otherwise. Cf. Martial, VIII. lvi., and Donatus,

Horace and Vergil represent all of Greek that could enter into the Latin genius. Livy, on the contrary, is purely Roman, and the successor of a long line of men who, after serving the country upon fields of battle or in the councils of the state, desired still further to serve her by holding up to future generations the examples of their ancestors. History, like law, was a patriotic science at Rome.

It is not known that Livy, who appears to have been of good family, was descended from any of the old Roman houses; but he belonged to them certainly by sentiments and character. He was born at Padua, in the year (59 B. C.) of Caesar's first consulship, and he came to Rome about the time of the battle of Actium, where, like Horace and Vergil, he became the friend of Augustus, who interested himself in the historian's labors, supplied him with documents on the early history of Rome, with which Livy was not well acquainted, and opened to him all the archives of the Empire. From these sources Livy drew discreetly, not having, though really a lover of the truth, either the scholar's curiosity to investigate patiently the remains of the past, or the penetrating critical faculty which divines that which has ceased to be, or even always that impartiality which cares not if a fact wound the pride of the patriot or the author's propriety.

A few words in his preface reveal his very rhetorical, but not very historic method. "The facts," he says, "which precede or accompany the foundation of Rome have come to us embellished with poetic fictions. . . . We pardon antiquity this introduction of the gods into human affairs, which renders more august the beginnings of cities. And, indeed, such is the renown of the Roman people in war, that when they proclaim the god Mars as their founder, the nations must suffer it with the same resignation as they submit to our empire." We readily forgive Livy this haughty language when it is a question of divine origins; but when he forgets the capture of Rome by Porsenna and the Roman gold

Vita Verg., cap. v. sec. 20. Horace represents Damasippus as addressing to himself a similar reproach, —

Mille puellarum puerorum mille furores (*Sat.* II. iii. 325).

Cf. *Carm.* IV. i. and x. Tibullus (*Eleg.* I. iv.) and Catullus (xlvi. lxxxi. xcix.) had tastes not less depraved.



TOMB, CALLED VERGIL'S, NEAR THE GROTTA DI POSILIPO AT NAPLES.¹

carried away by the Gauls as a ransom,² we distrust him everywhere, and fear that he has exaggerated many victories or concealed

¹ Vergil died at Brundisium; and in accordance with his desire, his remains were brought back to the region he had most loved, between Naples and Puteoli. To receive them, a monument was built near the entrance to the Grotta di Posilipo; but the ruins shown at present under the name are not his tomb.

² See Vol. I. pp. 299 and 362.

many defeats. It is to be regretted also that he should copy Polybius at great length without giving the latter's name, unless we believe, with the candid Rollin, that the Latin author in some of his lost books did justice to Polybius.

We must, however, acknowledge that, not to speak of his grand style, which has all the amplitude of Roman majesty, Livy possesses some of the most precious merits of the historian,—a vigorous hatred of evil from whatever side it came, whether from the nobles or the people, the Senate or the tribunes; the powerful imagination which gives action, life, and color where the mere annalist would put only a name, a date, a fact; and, finally, the faculty of making himself the contemporary of those whose history he relates: calm in the presence of passions, that he may judge them accurately, yet never losing sympathy with all forms of enthusiasm, that he may understand and depict them. In the days of the early Republic, aristocratic liberty would have found in him a mighty orator for its defence. That which he could not now be upon the rostra he was in his books, which are real lessons in eloquence. In them we study the finest forms of language; but his fellow-citizens found there the noblest examples of courage, of discipline, of perseverance, of patriotism,—in a word, of Roman virtue.

What was his political creed? He does not tell us. But in his long study of a history of seven centuries¹ he had learned that institutions are not immutable, nor governments perpetual; and he sought to moderate this inevitable mobility by two forms of control,—a respect for morals, and a respect for law. This conservative force he required even of Scipio Africanus, the renowned conqueror of Hannibal; and he again demanded it of the contemporaries of Augustus. It was thus that this great historian, whose mind “became ancient by contact with ancient things,”² this republican who praises Brutus and is distrustful of Caesar, this free citizen of “the greatest empire after that of the gods,”³ this rare soul which loved the past and comprehended

¹ The hundred and forty, or hundred and forty-two, books of his Roman History, of which but thirty-five are left to us, begin at the foundation of Rome and close with the death of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius,—a space of seven hundred and forty-three years.

² xliii. 13.

³ *Maximum secundum deorum opes imperium* (Livy, *Praef.*).

the present,—it was thus that he also came to have, without seeking it, an active part in the monarchical work of the conqueror of Antony.

With an inconsistency that is accounted for by the false position in which, from the first, Augustus placed the Empire, it suited the Emperor's policy that this picture of the manners of the early Republic should be placed before the eyes of those of whom Tacitus said later that they rushed to meet their slavery. The man whom the situation compelled to violate public liberties would have been glad to bring back the old time without the old liberty; he who had taken the soul out of the nation would have esteemed it his highest glory that these soulless bodies should have the dignity of citizens, that they should become masters of the world by being masters of themselves. We understand the noble ambition of Augustus to make his monarchy illustrious by republican virtues, to compensate for the docility of minds by the austerity of manners, for the dazzling luxury of an incomparable city by the modest and tranquil pleasures of rustic life; but to wish for things mutually incompatible is surely to fail. His poets and his historians had the success which the most eloquent of men obtain when they talk in one direction, while ideas, and needs, and habits all tend in another. The crowd escapes their influence; a few men feel it, and they stand in history, as we shall shortly see, noble protests of the conquered past against the victorious present, making exception, like Thræsea, to the general rule of demoralization and obsequiousness.

Livy and Vergil, both depicting the ancient time, were destined, however, to have different fortunes under the Empire. After the time of Augustus the great annalist of Rome was little read; the partisan of Pompey became an object of suspicion by reason of his manly tone, and three quarters of his works are lost to us. All of Vergil's we have retained, for his graceful lines contain in them no danger to tyranny. Among the early traditions his religious soul took most pleasure in those stories of divine things which awakened no imperial jealousy; and when he praised the life of the fields, it was not, like Cato, because the best soldiers and freest citizens were to be found there, but rather because there it was possible to forget the Forum "and war, in the

repose and silence of the vast country.”¹ Livy, less a poet, was more a statesman; and the book which Augustus had encouraged as a national work appeared an incendiary work to the Caligulas and Domitians.²

Varro, another conservative, more Pompeian even than Livy, for he served under Pompey, scarcely belongs to the Augustan age, since he died five years after the battle of Actium; but he represents a side of the Roman mind which we must not neglect, and his works had an influence which at least deserves mention.

Varro obtained from Pollio this honor, that, alone of living authors, he had his bust beside his works in the library of the *Atrium Libertatis*, and could thus “be present to his own posterity.” The homage rendered to Varro was beyond his merits. It is true that he lived ninety years, that he published seventy-four works, and ceased to write only when he ceased to live, so that he represents in himself all that the Augustan age knew of the ages that preceded it. “We wandered,” says Cicero, addressing him, “like strangers in our own country; thou hast told us who we are and where we dwell. Thou hast fixed the age of Rome and the dates of her history; thou hast taught us the rules of the sacred ceremonies and priesthoods, the usages of peace and war, the position of countries and cities, all things human and divine, with the causes which have produced them and the duties they lay upon us.” The eulogium is magnificent, but Cicero was complaisant that day; this immense erudition was amassed without judgment and produced without art. The fables that Livy relates with discreet brevity, Varro asserts and expands; and when he attempts vivacity in his treatises by imitating the dialogues of Cicero, his senile attempts displease us, because they recall others that are charming, as the rude and heavy lines of his Menippean Satires have the misfortune to remind us of Lucilius and Horace.

¹ . . . *Procul discordibus armis.*

. . . *Latis otia fundis* (*Georg.* ii. 459 and 468).

[Cf. Lucretius’ *Pastorum* . . . *otia dia.* — ED.]

² Caligula caused Livy to be removed from all the libraries, and Domitian put to death a citizen whose admiration for the historian was too great (*Suet., Domit.* 12). But it is to a pope that we doubtless owe the loss of a part of the *Annales*. Gregory the Great caused to be burned all the copies of Livy that he could find, through pious horror of the prodigies which the historian relates, and also through fear lest these narratives should serve the pagan cause.

Varro, the theologian of the Roman world, borrows his theology from Euhemerus and from the Stoics, without being over-mindful to reconcile the two systems or to harmonize his philosophical ideas with the beliefs of the people. For him there exist three religions, — that of the poets, a work of the imagination and domain of fable; that of the philosophers, discovered by reason and explained by it; lastly, that of the magistrates, which is a civil institution. With the first Varro amuses himself without believing in it; in the second he believes, but does not affirm his belief; the third, through motives of policy, he affirms, and composes his *Divine Antiquities* to defend this official faith against the indifference which assailed it.

He admits, however, the unity of God; he believes in “the great soul of the world, which blends with the mass of the universe and governs it by reason and will. . . . The earth and the rocks are the bones of God; the sun, moon, and stars, his senses; the ether, his soul. From the ether this soul of the world spreads into the different elements, and the divine part contained in each is called God.” Are these gods animated with a life of their own, or are they simply manifestations of the one God? The first solution saves polytheism; the second kills it. Varro, who had no more heroism of thought than of action, avoids expressing an opinion.

Doubtless he wished that his gods should make a better figure in the world to the eyes of the philosophers, and so we find him indicating that they are personifications of the terrible or the beneficent forces of Nature. After all, it was enough for him if his half-expressed meaning was understood by his friends; hence he does nothing to purify the popular religion, but much to strengthen the bonds which it laid upon the whole existence of the citizen in the interests of the state.¹

We know that in religion, as in all things, the mind of the Romans remained in lower regions of thought, far from its lofty summits;² that they conceived their gods only as guardians of the field and vineyard, as protectors of the house and the family where their ritual was punctiliously fulfilled; that for the great gods of the city and for the domestic divinities alike, there was a

¹ *Religio a religare* (Servius, in *Aeneid*, viii. 349).

² Vol. I. pp. 199–205.

cult, but there were no doctrines, there were rites, but no dogmas.¹ If we seek among the Romans for those sentiments of gratitude and love which are the foundation of all true piety, we shall find only a narrow formalism, so strongly imprinted that its trace lingers yet. For the contemporaries of Augustus, the religious man is he who scrupulously observes all the rites, not he who lives a virtuous life. From this point of view the Romans were the most religious, that is to say, the most superstitious, of men.²

Varro employed twelve books of his *Divine Antiquities* in explaining the organization of the priesthood, the nature of sacrifices, the order of ceremonies; in a word, the whole liturgy. His work, therefore, was the Roman ritual, and as such it had much authority and great influence; and it is for this reason that Saint Augustine attacked it with so much severity, or at least quoted it so frequently in his refutation of paganism.

The *Divine Antiquities* were a work trivial in point of religious or philosophic conception, important by reason of their detail and their political bearing. At the moment when Julius and Augustus Caesar were proposing to bring order into the state (*ordinare*), Varro essayed to bring order into religion. What was the result of his efforts? He confirmed the crowd in their superstition, men of intelligence in their indifference, and rulers in the doctrine that it was necessary for the public good to observe traditional rites. This was all that Augustus required.

Varro deals with philosophy as he does with religion. He loves not to look up, and never willingly lingers upon the abstract speculations of Pythagoras and Plato; he hastens to the rules of practical life, sometimes finding noble thoughts along his path, — “We do not live for the sake of living, but to accomplish noble designs;” and this, too, which is Christian before Christ: “We should wish for others what we desire for ourselves, for our wives and children, and for our fellow-citizens. And this affection, extending outward from the family to the city, should not be limited

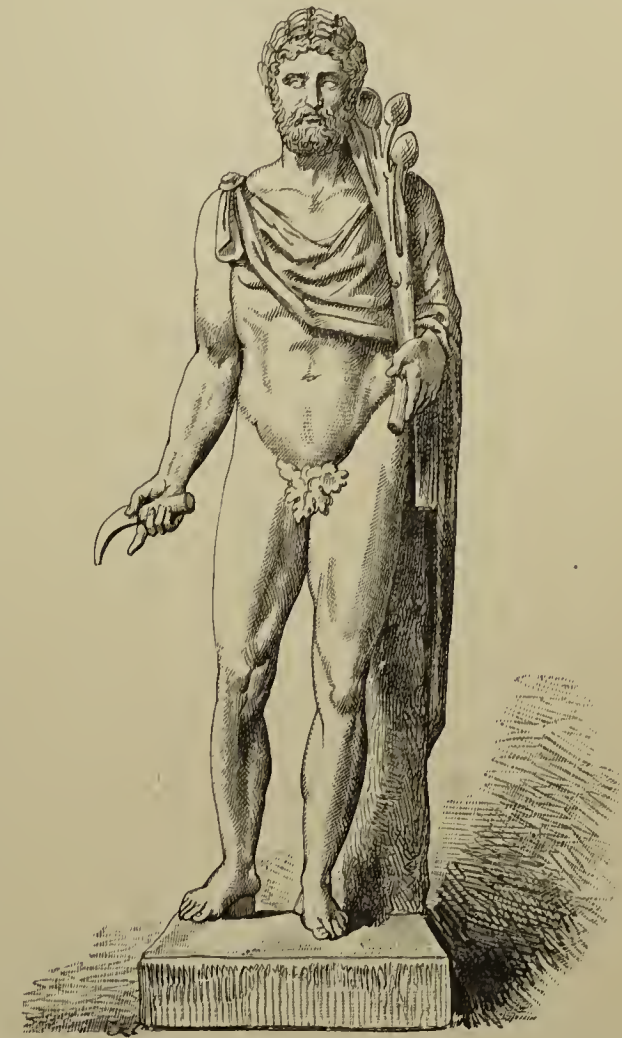
¹ *Religione, id est cultu decorum, multo superiores* (Cic., *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 3); and here *cultus* is taken in its limited sense of rites. The entire passage is explained in this way.

² *Religiosi dicuntur qui faciendarum prætermittendarumque rerum divinarum, secundum morem civitatis, delectum habent.* Festus (*s. v.*) adds: *nec se superstitionibus implicant.* This does not destroy the force of what is said in the text, the word *superstitio* being applied to practices and beliefs contrary to the state religion.

there, but should embrace the whole group of nations that form humanity, and rise to the gods themselves, whom philosophers represent as the friends of the virtuous man.”¹

We have here the word of the future spoken by one of the most valiant defenders of the past; and had he left us nothing else, Varro would have deserved a place in this brief summary of Roman literature. He interests us, however, for another cause. His innumerable works, in which is found everything, — religion, philosophy, history, rhetoric, grammar, science, rural economy, in verse and prose, — guided under the Empire the education of the West, in which respect he resembles Cicero, but without the latter’s art.²

One form of literature, that of the theatre, can teach much in respect to the social condition of a people. Religious and patriotic in the Athens of Aeschylus, it became in Byzantium a school of depravity. What was it in the Rome of Augustus? We are not able to judge by the few drawing-room



THE GOD SYLVANUS, GUARDIAN OF THE FIELDS.³

tragedies which remain to us, but we know that the plays composed by Publilius Syrus, a Syrian slave, had the same fortune as certain of Varro’s books, since Saint Jerome informs us that in his time they were still read in the public schools.

¹ *Sent.* n. 115. [This was a current Stoic principle, and no doubt translated from Greek. — Ed.]

² [Of his works only *De Re Rustica* and fragments are exant. — Ed.]

³ Statue of the Blundell Coll. (Clarae, *Musée de Sculpt.*, pl. 449, No. 820, A).

Syrus had been carried to Rome on account of his beauty, — an excellent recommendation, he says; and later was enfranchised, like Phaedrus and Terence, on account of his intellect. He went about Italy for a long time, like Molière in the French provinces, composing and performing his comedies (*mimi*). Attracted to Rome by the splendid games given by Caesar B. C. 45, he was victorious over all his competitors, even Laberius; and up to the first days of the Empire he reigned upon the stage. His pieces are all lost; but we have some eight hundred pithy maxims of his, which Seneca quotes frequently. “Syrus,” he says, “is the greatest of dramatic poets when he abstains from coarse jokes fitted for the lowest class of his audience;” and Petronius, in comparing Syrus with Cicero, does not hesitate to call him the loftier mind.

I do not overestimate the utility of the noble sentiments which men often repeat without conforming to them; at the same time it is needful, in order to form a true idea of a social condition, to know what it regards as perfection, as well in morals as in art, poetry and law. Moreover, these maxims which the generations hand down from one to another may be indeed but the drop of water which falls incessantly and seems to vanish in a little mist; but look closely, and you will see that the drop of water is piercing the granite. Hence the philosophic historian is bound to gather up those ideas which have been the current coin of a nation's great men. Here are some from Syrus:¹ —

“Listen to thy conscience, and not to vain opinions; for it will punish even where there is no law.” “He who loses honor has nothing more to lose.” “It is more needful to heal the maladies of the soul than those of the body, and the important thing is to live well, not to live long; a noble death gives immortality.”

“A great fortune, a great slavery; wherefore disdain all that thou canst lose.” “Fortune lends, she never gives. He is richest who has the fewest wants.”

“To command one's self is the noblest empire: and a manly soul does always what it commands itself to do.”

“Expect from another what thou thyself wouldst do to him.” “Imitate not that which thou blamest in others, nor make of their

¹ Interpolations have been made in this collection; some of these sentences do not belong to Syrus. [Many of them are Stoic commonplaces and sayings from Menander. — ED.]

woe thy rejoicing." "Keep thy word, even to an enemy, and have only good thoughts towards him; it is better to receive an injury than to do one." "Forgive others often, thyself never; for one must live at peace with men, but at war with one's own vices." "Let us rival each other in gentleness and goodness, for this is the noblest emulation."

"God looks to see if the hands are pure, not if they are full. To be benevolent is to imitate God."

Other traits are very subtle:—

"A man dies as often as he loses one of his own." "The closest kinship is that of souls." "Love, like tears, springs from the eyes, and falls upon the heart."

Or energetic:—

"Honors adorn the upright man; they brand the knave." "Where the accuser is the judge, force, not law, prevails."

In thus speaking, Syrus condemned in advance Sejanus and the judges of Nero's time. He saw still further when he desired to put humanity into the law,— "The extreme justice is almost always an extreme injustice;" and further yet when he said: "Discuss all that thou hearest; prove all that thou believest." This is the very utterance of Descartes.

Certainly this is good seed which fell by the wayside; who knows, however, whether it may not be carried by the wind to some fertile corner where it can germinate?

The old Greek poets endowed man, for good as well as evil, with a superhuman grandeur. In those days the country claimed the whole man, and did not suffer him to forget himself in love. Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, who sang of heroes, ignore that individual and fascinating passion. But in the peaceful and sensuous cities of the Alexandrian East, poetry delighted to depict the raptures and miseries of the heart, and its influence came into Rome with Propertius and Tibullus. Fatigued with the spectacles of so many scenes of blood and tragic adventure, men sought oblivion in pleasure, and sang of love where once only manly strains had been heard. Neither Julius Caesar nor Augustus had any share in bringing about this change, which the new tone of manners and mental condition had produced; and political history need not occupy itself with these writers, mere

artists in language, who expressed only personal sentiments. The Historic Muse asks nothing from Catullus, although his little masterpieces place him very high in Latin literature; nor from Propertius, whose accents are sometimes those of real passion, and Tibullus, whose poetry resembles the delicate fabrics, said to be woven of the wind, which were worn by fair Roman women; nor even of Ovid, a stronger personality than these poets, whose lives were brief and fragile like their poetic inspiration. As for him, he had a curious secret which he might have told us,—the secret of his exile; but he did not, and to this day we are seeking to find it out. Two of Ovid's works, however, show both the efforts of Augustus to reanimate the old beliefs, and the vanity of his reform of manners. For the Emperor, the poet wrote a sort of religious and national calendar, the *Fasti*; and for his contemporaries, a manual of libertinism, the *Ars amatoria*,¹ which found many more readers, and especially many more disciples, than did the more serious work. "Venus," he says, "now dwells in the city of her son Aeneas." From a literary point of view, it is enough to say that Ovid, who had too much wit and too little genuine feeling, announces by his marvellous and brilliant facility the coming of decay. Yet here and there in his verses are found, if not energetic accents, at least the echo of some strong thought: this, among others, which has become the axiom of modern science, after having been first of all a philosophic view of Pythagoras: "All things change, nothing perishes."²

To the list of the poets of this time we can add neither Augustus nor Maecenas, although they both essayed to speak the language of Horace. The Emperor was unsuccessful; of Maecenas, we have this strong line remaining: "I care not for my tomb, Nature buries those whom life has abandoned."³ The counsellor of Octavius during the days which preceded the Second Triumvirate had something better than the soul of an Epicurean.

¹ He explains to us himself that his Art of Love was performed with dances and postures, like a series of detached pictures.

² *Omnia mutantur, nihil interit* (*Metam.* xv. 165). Seneca (*Epist.* 108) and Persius (*iii.* 84) have repeated it. [Properly, the doctrine of Heraclitus. — Ed.]

³ *Nec tumulum curo, sepelit natura relictos* (Seneca, *Epist.* 92 *ad fin.*). Augustus wrote much in prose, and in verse composed a poem on Sicily, a collection of epigrams, and a tragedy on the subject of Ajax, which he burned (Suet., *Octav.* 85).

Looking at the Augustan literature as a whole, we see that it imagines little and copies much; its voice, a tuneful echo, has scarcely any original notes, and the best among those who represent it remember far more than they invent. Of two hundred fragments which remain to us of Greek lyrics, more than a hundred are imitated by Horace.¹ This constant preoccupation of all the Roman writers with the works of Greek genius impaired their originality. Memory destroyed inspiration; art expelled nature, and with it true passion. Still, this literature merits the place which is given it in the annals of the human mind; if it has not the majestic energy of works born of the mighty breath of the imagination and of a people's faith, it gives us one of the most perfect models of the literature of a polished society.

We must also observe that, fairly balancing all things, the literature of this period maintained its self-respect. The poet is often trivial, and art is not morality. But we may notice that the worst of Horace is in his Epodes, which he did not make public, and that the theatre, where license later went so far, was still kept within such bounds that a great collection of noble sentiments has been extracted from the comedies of Publilius Syrus.

To conclude, this literature possessed independence as well as dignity. Liberty, which had voluntarily withdrawn herself from public assemblies, had taken refuge with letters; for they are privileged to guard, even under the ruins of the temple, a spark of the sacred fire at which the noble exile may some day rekindle her extinguished torch. Communities resign their powers into the hands of a single man; but the human mind never does this. In the very presence of Augustus, Horace sings, "the fatal day (that of Philippi) when valor gave way, and the still threatening countenances lay in the dust."³ Vergil places Cato foremost in



ARRIVAL OF AENEAS IN
LATIUM.²

¹ From the age of Augustus the Roman grammarians divided their literature into two parts, — one national; the other called by them *exotic*, as being imitated from foreign works.

² Coin of Antoninus. Aeneas bearing his father Anchises towards the circular temple of Vesta. Below, the sow and her thirty young, presaging to Aeneas the fertility of his race.

³ Eulogies upon L. Sextius, Q. Dellius, Pompeius Grosphus, and Cassius Parmensis, all of the party opposed to Octavius, are found in the verses of Horace.

the Elysian Fields,¹ and Livy is permitted with impunity to celebrate the deeds of the great aristocracy whom Augustus has displaced, and gets no harder censure for it than the surname of "the Pompeian." Timagenes attacks the Emperor and his friends with keen shafts. Augustus warns him to be more guarded; and as he redoubles his violence, forbids him the imperial presence. But Pollio receives the author, and all the city runs after him.² We have just seen that the imperial library was not closed against either Catullus or his imitators.

Labienus, however, should not trust this tolerance: when he goes too far, his book is burned by a decree of the Senate;³ and in virtue of the law concerning treason, Cassius Severus is exiled into Crete for having attacked the most intimate friends of the Emperor. But it is certain that he must have allowed himself very strange liberties, for Tacitus condemns him. A law was passed rendering defamatory libels punishable;⁴ misdemeanors of opinion thus fell under the imperial legislation. They had been already dealt with in the time of the Republic, as long ago as the Twelve Tables; and we ourselves, after twenty-three centuries, are not decided whether, when it concerns the Government, it is better to prosecute them or to pass them by.⁵

Maecenas has been considered a sort of Minister of Literature; but only those inferior writers whose inspiration comes by order are subject to discipline, and under these supervisions only an official literature can be produced, which perishes at its birth. That Maecenas regulated this may well be believed; he had little difficulty in doing so, for servility was the great evil of the time. Does not Augustus complain of seeing his name compromised by unskilful flatterers,⁶ as later Tiberius was indignant at finding his Senate too submissive? But we will not confuse the great minds

¹ . . . *Pios, his dantem jura Catonem* (*Aeneid*, viii. 670).

² Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. In respect to the moderation of Augustus, see Suet., *Octav.* 31, 33, 51, 56, 61, 66; Seneca, *De Benef.* iii. 27; Val. Max., VII. vii.; and Macrobius, *Saturn.* II. iv.

³ Seneca, *Controv.*, v., *praef.*

⁴ Tac., *Ann.* i. 72.

⁵ Dion, in the discourse of Maecenas (lii. 31), is opposed to prosecution, and Tacitus maintains that the prohibition to read certain books made all their popularity: *Conquisitos lectitatosque donec cum periculo parabantur, mox licentia habendi oblivionem attulit* (*Ann.*, xiv. 50). This we too have seen.

⁶ Horace (*Sat.* II. i.) speaks of precautions that must be taken to praise Augustus in a manner which will be agreeable to him.

with this rabble, to whom oblivion has done justice. The relations of Augustus and Horace show in what manner the ruler treated true poets; and if certain of their lines shock our modern democratic pride, we must always make allowance for hyperbole with these Southern temperaments.

Louis XIV. directed Colbert to write to the eminent scholars of his time. Augustus wrote himself to Vergil, begging the latter



LANDSCAPE IN CRETE.¹

to send him the opening passages of the Aeneid, and to Horace to complain that he was not admitted to share with Maecenas the poet's friendship. "In your verses you do not willingly address yourself to me. Do you fear that posterity may consider it a disgrace to be my friend?" And elsewhere, "If you are so proud as to scorn my friendship, that is no reason why I should lightly esteem yours."²

¹ Spratt, *Travels*, ii. 213.

² Suet., *De Viris ill.* fragm. The poet had refused to be the Emperor's secretary.

II. — SCIENCE AND ARTS.

AUGUSTUS loved and encouraged intellectual work; not, however, in the manner of Alexander, whose wide intelligence, alive to every noble thing, admired art and poetry and eloquence, and also science, and conquered the world for Aristotle almost as much as for himself. The second Caesar appears not to have suspected the immense achievements made by the Greeks in the scientific domain; he was too Roman to perceive and appreciate them. In the sciences the Romans really produced nothing. "All that they know," Strabo says, "they owe to the Greeks, without having added the least thing; and wherever a gap exists, do not hope that they will fill it."¹ Martianus Capella says even more forcibly: "If we except Varro and a few other illustrious persons, there is not a son of Romulus whose threshold Science has ever crossed." If she did come, it was but as a casual visitor, for she brought them not a particle of the inventive spirit. Vitruvius added no more to the geometry of Archimedes than did Celsus to the medical science of Hippocrates; and Nigidius, who in Caesar's time made some studies in mathematics and natural history, is especially known by a treatise on astrology, which is a theory of divination. Being a senator, he could occupy himself with prodigies without derogation; as for pure science, that was suited to freedmen. King Juba, who was educated at Rome, and had the reputation of being one of the most learned men at the court of Augustus, firmly believed that a dead man had been raised to life by the virtue of a certain Arabian plant.²

Thus mathematicians are rare, but there are swarms of astrologers. All the world consults them; Varro among the rest—who desires his friend Tarutius to cast the horoscope of Rome—and Augustus, who firmly believes in his star, since he has been told that his future greatness is predicted in accordance with the scheme of his nativity.

¹ vi. 190.² C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iii. 479.

For the study of Nature we have Cato, Varro, Columella, who occupied themselves only with rural economy. They make no attempt to obtain from Nature any of her secrets; they seek only to make her more productive.

As for physics and chemistry, they do not exist.¹

Medical men, it appears, were numerous; and, according to Martial and Celsus, there were specialists for every part of the body and every form of disease. Even women practised,² and this custom lasted long in Italy. But, men or women, they all dealt with the science of medicine as the mathematicians did with astronomy, treating the sick at random, or on preconceived theory. The most famous of them, Asclepiades of Bithynia, a friend of Cicero and of all the Roman nobles, was the very type of a famous charlatan. He, however, uttered a half-truth of importance: "Nature is the physician;" and he sought to cure in an agreeable manner (*jucunde*), by regimen rather than severe medicines. Musa



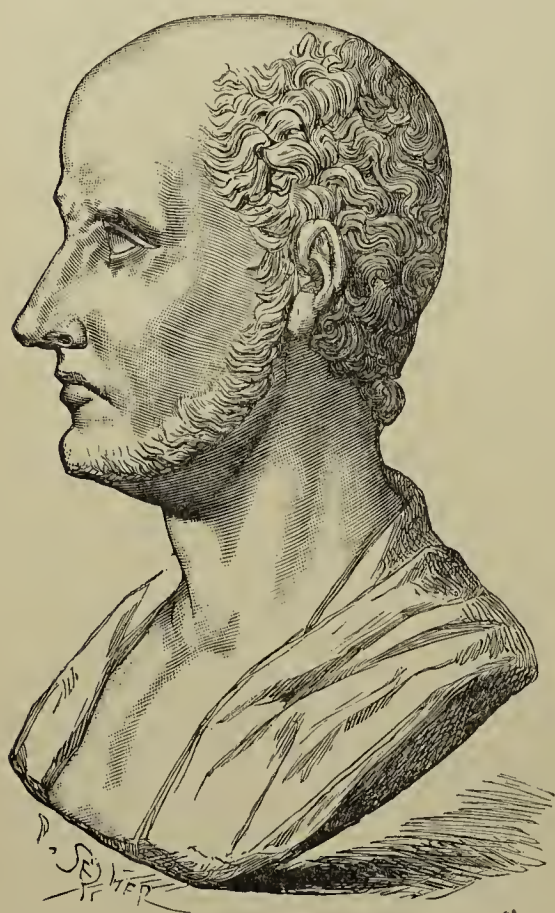
MUSA, THE PHYSICIAN OF AUGUSTUS, AS
AESCVLAPIUS.³

¹ It is remarkable that the window-glass found at Pompeii which has been analyzed by M. Bontemps, has the same composition as our own, — silica, 69; lime, 7; soda, 17; aluminium, 3. M. Dumas indicates for ours, — silica, 68; lime, 9; soda, 17; aluminium, 4. But glass was not a Roman invention.

² Cf. Orelli, *Inscr.* Nos. 4,230–31: *Iatromata prima, medica prima*, etc. The organization of the medical service in the Empire will be explained chap. lxxxiii. sec. 4. The law allowed physicians to furnish medicines, and required them to sign prescriptions. Hence the great number of physicians' seals which we possess.

³ Statue in the Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, 17. A statue, erected to Musa by public subscription, was placed near that of Aesculapius. "It was usual," says Vitruvius (i. 2, 20), "to

eclipsed his fame by saving the Emperor's life in 23 B. C. through the use of cold baths. The compilation made by Celsus has only the merit of preserving to us much Greek science and giving an important place to anatomy. Surgery was at this time much more advanced than medicine; lithotomy, the operation of trepanning, many obstetrical methods, and the operation for cataract being already practised.

ASCLEPIADES.³

For the purpose of attracting physicians to Rome, Caesar gave them the freedom of the city, and Augustus exempted them from taxation. "But this art," says Pliny, "did not harmonize with Roman gravity."¹ The Greeks alone carried on this lucrative profession. If by chance there were physicians who had not come from the Peloponnesus or from the Asiatic coast, they were compelled to borrow from the Greeks their idiom as well as their recipes in order to obtain patronage; and it seems that they spoke at Rome the language of Athens, as the French doctors in Molière's time spoke in Paris the language of Rome.²

In the arts the Romans, like all men who have grown rich suddenly,⁴ had the taste of Mummius for statues and pictures, —

they would have them everywhere. But they were as incapable of comprehending the chaste beauty of the Venus of Melos as they

place the sanctuaries of Asclepius near a spring which would serve for ablutions and baths of the sick."

¹ *Hist. Nat.* xxix. 8.

² [I have noted elsewhere the parallel use of Doric Greek for prescriptions at Athens, when the school of Croton was in fashion (*Social Life in Greece*, p. 278). — ED.]

³ Bust found near the Appian Way (Museum of the Capitol, Hall of the Philosophers).

⁴ The arts decline, Pliny well says (*Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 32) *quoniam rerum, non animi pretiis excubatur*.

were of producing the work ; for when we see Scaurus collecting three thousand statues for the theatre in one day, and the city containing perhaps seventy thousand, we cannot help believing that quantity was to them the point of importance ;¹ and when Valerius Maximus speaks of Fabius the Painter (*Pictor*) as occupied in a pursuit which he calls “sordid,”² I cannot but fear he expresses the general opinion of a people who had not for the arts that very high esteem without which neither great artists nor beautiful works are produced. Instead of founding genuine schools of painting and sculpture, they allowed an immense traffic in art to be established, which filled the cities and palaces and villas with marbles produced at the lowest prices in the Greek and Asiatic studios, where work was done for exportation, and with paintings executed also by Greeks, either freedmen or else slaves, who gave at least an extreme gracefulness, if not grandeur, to their figures and decorations. The Roman influence appears in sculpture only by one merit, to which the Greeks seem never to have given a serious thought,³—their busts are portraits ; and by the low square foreheads and the hard, obstinate faces, we easily recognize the race that laid so heavy a hand upon the nations of the earth. In statuary, as in every other respect, the Romans sacrificed the general to the special, art to nature, the ideal to the real ; but it is only in the region of the ideal that we must seek that primitive type of human beauty that God, it is said, “made in his own image,” and Pheidias found in Homer.

There is no doubt, however, that sculpture produced extremely beautiful works in the Roman epoch, from the statue of the elder Agrippina in the Capitol, whose attitude is so proud and noble, down to those of Antinous which Hadrian multiplied throughout the Empire. But Greek hands made them, as they made also the beautiful engraved gems—of which some bear the name of Dioscorides—and the magnificent cameos of Augustus, Germanicus,

¹ *Populus copiosissimus statuarum* (Cassiodorus, *Variar.* vii. 13 ; *Acad. des inscr.* xxviii. 592). Otf. Müller, Raoul Rochette, and Jacobs admit this number.

² *Sordido studio . . . deditum* (VIII. xiv. 6).

³ Except in their iconic statues, which were rare, since a man must have been victorious three times at Olympia to obtain one (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 9). [And also in many famous busts of philosophers, as may be seen in the British Museum or at Naples. — ED.]

Tiberius, and Claudius, which are the ornament of the museums of Paris and Vienna. This Dioscorides engraved the seal which the successors of Augustus used, because the head of the Emperor was so perfect a likeness.

Painting was even less Roman than sculpture, if that be possible. The great pictures which were seen at Rome were spoils of war, except a few that had been purchased. Among the buyers



AGRIPPINA (OF THE CAPITOL).

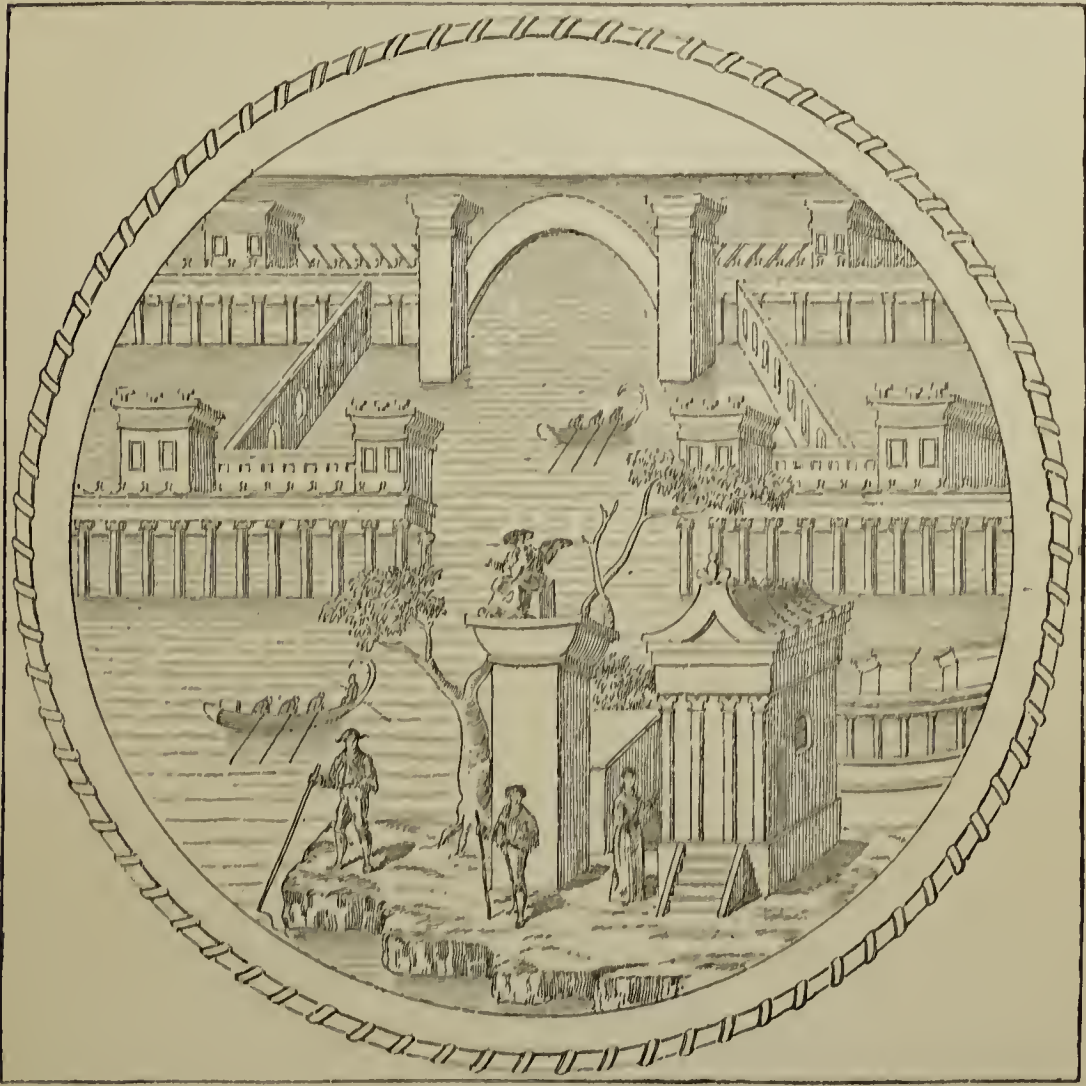
we mention with pleasure Agrippa;¹ and are compelled also to mention Tiberius for a work of Parrhasius. In an address which was much admired, Agrippa endeavored to persuade private owners of statues and pictures to place them under the porticos in the city, being of opinion that the owners of these beautiful objects ought to expose them to the public admiration rather than to keep them hidden in their own villas.²

Art cannot live long in servile hands. As early as the time

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 4.

² *Id.*, *ibid.* xxxv. 9.

of Augustus, Vitruvius complains of the bad taste of the painters; and a half century later Pliny said: "The art of painting is at the point of death. . . . The painters are now driven out by marble-workers and gilders."¹ And what he himself relates explains this rapid decay: "In the time of Augustus," he says, "there was



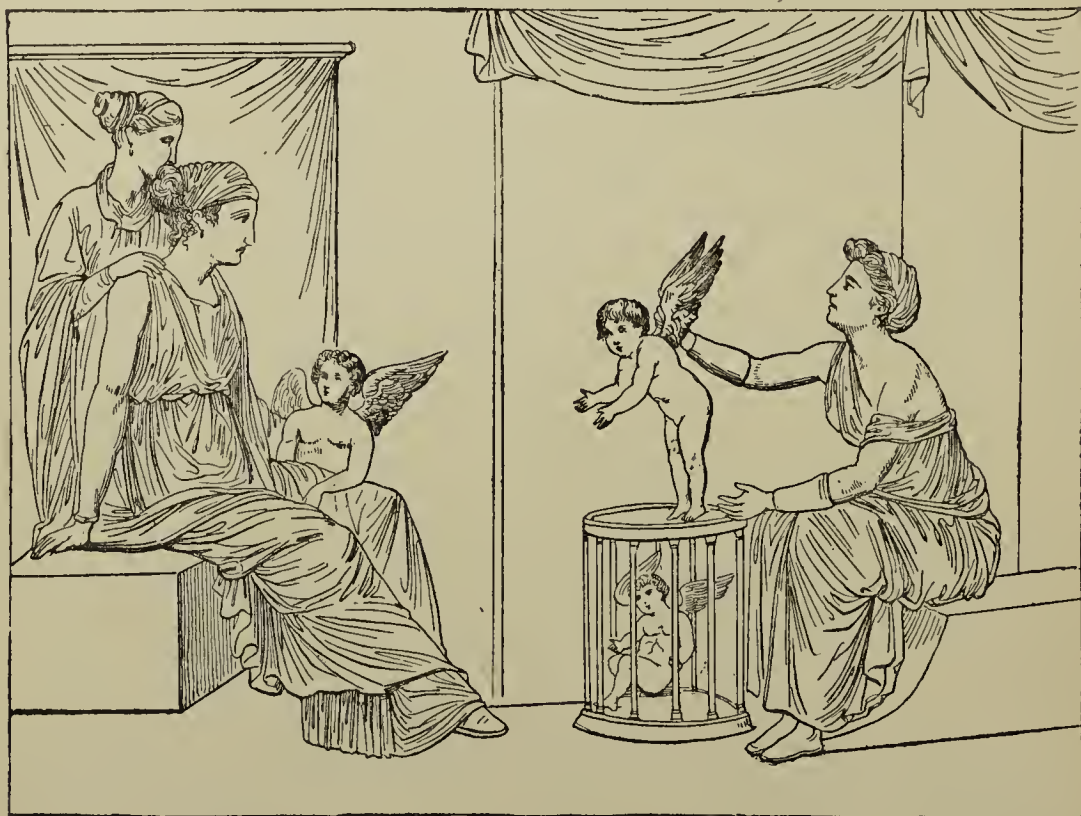
MARINE PAINTING (FROM POMPEII).²

at Rome a certain Ludius who first conceived the idea of decorating the walls of houses with charming paintings. He represented there country houses, porticos, trained shrubs, woods, thickets, hills, ponds, canals, streams, shores, as each man desired. Figures walked about or sailed in boats; arrived at the villa on donkeys

¹ Vitruvius, vii. 3; and Pliny: *Artis morientis . . . ars nobilis . . . nunc vero in totum marmoribus pulsa, jam quidem et auro* (*Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 1 and 11).

² Roux, *Herculaneum et Pompéi*, vol. ii. 5th series, pl. 20.

or in carriages; fished, or snared birds; hunted or harvested. Beautiful villas rose from the marshy shore; men carried women thither upon their shoulders and, as they walked, slipped or stumbled. He paints in this style a thousand other ingenious or amusing subjects, and also maritime cities of very pleasant effect, and at very little expense." Alas! these paintings, so pleasing to Pliny,¹ even to Augustus, — for in his house, recently discovered

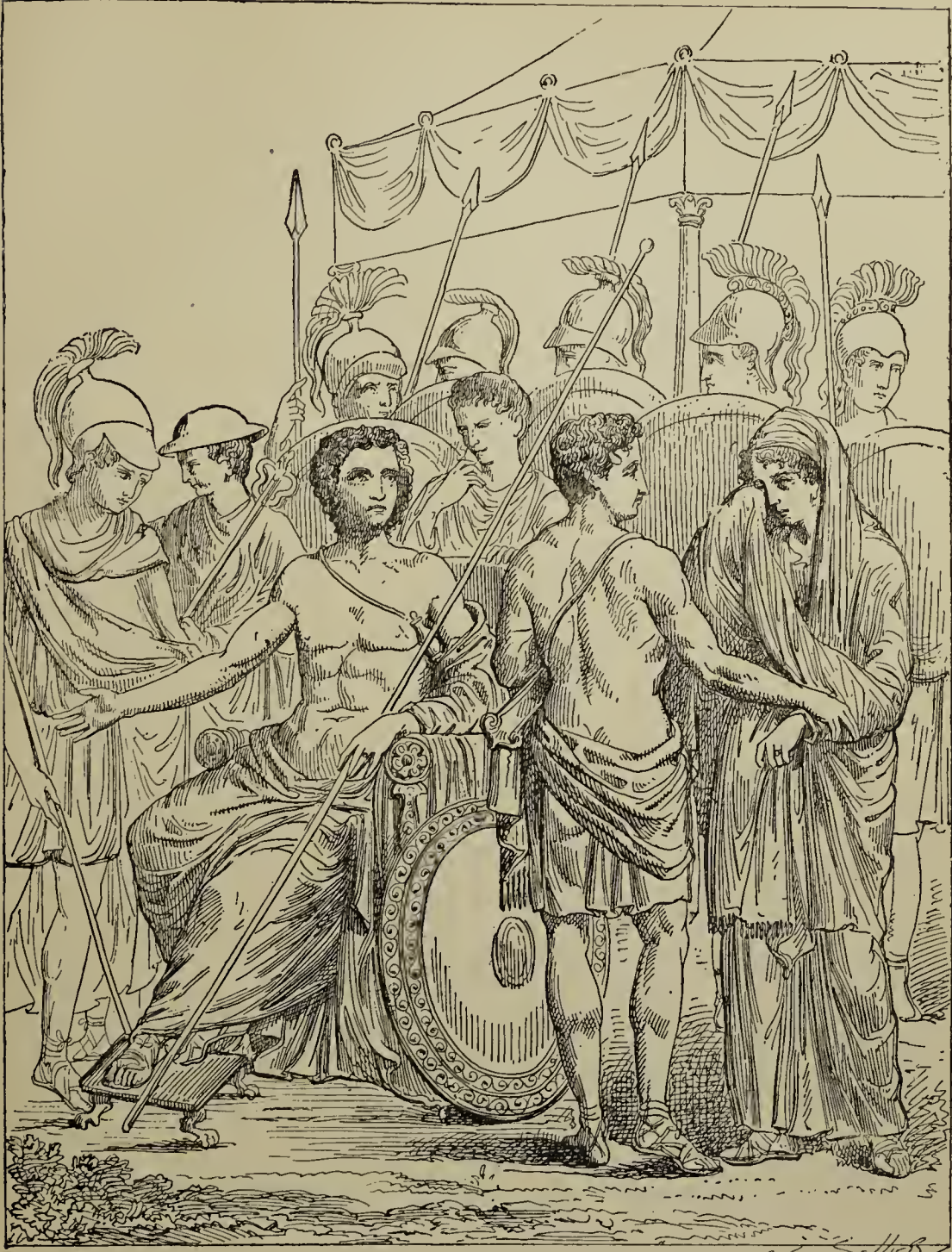
THE DEALER IN LOVES.²

on the Palatine, is to be seen a picture of this kind: a street in Rome, women going out, other women looking down from a balcony upon them,³ — these charming paintings were cheap, I admit (*minimo impendio*), but they were by no means art; and it is natural, this being their taste, that the Romans should have

¹ *Amoenissimam picturam . . . blandissimo aspectu . . . argutiae facetissimi salis* (*Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 37). Ancient Italy loved frescos and painted illusions just as modern Italy does. From July, 1867, to May, 1879, 843 of them were discovered in Pompeii. (See catalogue of M. Sogliano in *Pompei e la regione sotterrata del Vesuvio*, 1879.) In 1867 M. Helbig counted and described 1,968 paintings in Herculaneum and Pompeii.

² From a painting discovered at Stabii in 1758 (Monaco, *Le Musée national de Naples*, pl. 25); see p. 340.

³ See, p. 285, design of a fresco in the house of Livia.

BRISEIS TAKEN AWAY FROM ACHILLES.¹

had artisans instead of artists. At the same time we know that Raphael sought inspiration for the Loggie of the Vatican from

¹ From a painting in Pompeii (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. ii. 2d series, pl. 72). Achilles, surrounded by his Myrmidons, looks at the youthful Briseis, who is led in by Patroclus.

arabesques found in the baths of Titus; and though the paintings in Pompeii were commonplace, some in Herculaneum and the Farnesina¹ are very graceful and charming, — the “Dancing Girl,” for instance, the “Dealer in Loves,” “Briseis taken away from Achilles,” etc.

An art highly esteemed by the Romans of the present day, mosaic, covered the floors of the villas in Italy and the provinces. Works of this kind are found everywhere, and are extremely beautiful.² The “Battle of Issus,” discovered at Pompeii in 1831 in the house of the Faun, is justly celebrated.

III. — LAW AND ARCHITECTURE.

THERE was one science in which the Romans have had no rival, — law; and one art to which they gave, using former elements, a new form, — architecture. But of these two glories of Rome, one is anonymous, for though we have great edifices we have no great builder, with the single exception of Apollodorus, the architect employed by Trajan and Hadrian; and the other is attached to many names, but to no book. The Digest, in which is preserved forever the juridic wisdom of Rome, has caused the loss of the innumerable volumes from which this wisdom was collected; they disappeared after their substance had been taken for the purpose of concentrating all in one impersonal work.³

Architecture and law having this in common, namely, that the originality of the Roman genius is exhibited in them rather than in literature, we place them together at the close of this chapter, disregarding the ordinary rules of classification. But since, in the time of Augustus, this science and this art are still

¹ The construction of the quays of the Tiber brought to light in 1879, in the gardens of the Farnesina, the remains of an expensive house of the last days of the Republic or of the Augustan period.

² We have given in preceding volumes the mosaics of Otricoli, Italica, and Constantine.

³ With the exception of the Institutes of Gaius recovered by Niebuhr, the *Liber Regularum* of Ulpian, and the *Sententiae* of Paulus. A very great number of eminent juriconsults are named in the *Corpus juris*, but of their books only fragments remain. In the compilation of the Pandects or Digest, abstracts were made from two thousand treatises on jurisprudence, and three million sentences were reduced to one hundred and fifty thousand.

in formation, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out the path upon which they enter, instead of describing their achievements, of which the most important did not yet exist.

Rome had at an early period the Twelve Tables, and the *jus Aelianum*, which contained their formulas and a commentary upon them.¹ Then, by the side of the decemviral laws, was developed a new legal system founded upon different principles. By their conquests the Romans came into relations with other nations, whose interests they were obliged as magistrates to regulate. The necessity was thus imposed upon them of comparing the different systems of laws; and on finding certain provisions everywhere existing, they came to think that these had their foundation in human nature. Then became clear the eternal rivalry which exists between the narrow law which the state decrees, *jus strictum*, and natural equity, *aequum*, which humanity demands, which reason imposes, and the ages progressively apply. From the union of these provisions, peculiar to certain nations, but in reality suited to all, the Romans composed the common law of civilized peoples, *jus gentium*, which was established, not instead of the older law, *jus civile*, but along with it. Scaevola, the great juriseconsult, commenced this revolution² more than a century before the battle of Actium; and from his time equity was constantly called in to soften the rigor of the decemviral law, which, though never expressly abrogated, was by degrees transformed into a new code.

The most active agents in this transformation were the praetors. In respect to all things not regulated by law or usage, that is to say, in most cases, the Roman magistrates had, within the limits of their jurisdiction, a discretionary power. In order to avoid arbitrary action, they were required to make known by an edict, before taking office, the principles which they proposed to follow, and a Cornelian law (67 B.C.) prohibited them from disregarding this edict in their decisions. The larger part of what we should call the administrative law of Rome had no other basis than

¹ See Vol. I. p. 331, and Vol. II. p. 329, n. 3.

² See Vol. II. p. 330, *et supr.* Cicero says of the juriseconsult Sulpicius: *Jus civile semper ad aequitatem et facilitatem referebat* (*Philipp.* iv. 5), and of Crassus: *Multa tum contra scriptum pro aequo et bono dixit* (*De Orat.* i.).

these edicts of the praetors. In them were inserted a multitude of rules of civil law, formulas of actions adapted to this or that contract; in their edicts the praetors pledged themselves to intervene in certain cases to relieve from forfeitures or to grant privileges, to impose stipulations, to authorize legal possession, etc. If the letter of the law was opposed to the new principle which they sought to introduce, they escaped from it by a fiction. Thus the praetor's edict appeared to be founded upon the civil law, while by judicious innovations it gave satisfaction to the new needs indicated by the jurisconsults, "in order to secure to a conquered world the best conditions of peace."¹

There came a time when the edicts of the praetor, this annual law, *lex annua*, as Cicero calls it, in the preparation of which the most experienced jurisconsults took part, formed a considerable body of laws. The larger part of the edict became traditional, *edictum tralaticium*, the new praetors as a rule respecting the work of their predecessors, or limiting themselves to the addition or removal of a few articles. Thus grew up the *jus praetorium*, the Praetorian Law, susceptible of change and adaptation, by the side of the inflexible ordinances of the earlier Roman legislation.

At Rome the censors, the consuls, the foreign praetor and the curule aediles, and in the provinces the governors and the quaestors, all had the *jus edicendi*. To these multiplied sources of legislation must be added the laws passed by the centuries; the *plebiscita* voted by the tribes, — although, contrary to the custom in modern states, legislation but rarely interposed to modify the civil law; and lastly, the decrees of the Senate, which often regulated questions of private right touching on religious or administrative obligations, the finances, or the government.

There resulted from this variety in the sources of law a confusion which was avoided only by very profound learning. The study of the law became the Roman study *par excellence*, and the highest honors were paid to its masters, the *jurisconsulti*, or those learned in the law.

A jurisconsult was ordinarily a man of good family who, not

¹ *Aeneid*, vi. 852. Papinian says of the praetorian *jus*: . . . *Est quod praetores introduxerunt, adjuvandi, vel supplendi vel corrigendi juris civilis gratia, propter utilitatem publicam* (*Digest*, I. i. fr. 7, sec. 1).

having been able or not having chosen to become an orator, fled the tumults of the Forum and placed his learning at the disposal of those who wished to be enlightened on doubtful points, instructed as to the best forms of contracts or actions, or secured against the flaws which abounded in all legal proceedings.¹ Horace shows us the gate of the jurisconsult besieged from early dawn, *sub galli cantum*, by an eager crowd of clients. He gives his advice with authority, and it is received with respect; these are oracles which he utters seated on his throne, for so was called the seat of this legal pontiff, *sacerdos juris*.² In civil cases his opinion usually ended the suit. "What is finer for an old man," Cicero exclaims, "after having passed through an honorable career, than to be able to distinguish himself at the close of his life, to direct by his counsels, if not peoples and kings like Apollo in Ennius, at least his fellow-citizens, and to say with the god, 'Are men in a state of uncertainty, I dissipate the cloud, I enlighten, I fortify their souls, and they walk no longer at random in the gloomy paths of life!'" By their commentaries the juriseonsults made of the praetorian edict "the living voice of the civil law," and their *responsa* and treatises furnished the most abundant material to the compilers of the Pandects. They established schools frequented by paying pupils, of which some became famous.³ Under Augustus their authority increased. We have seen that he appointed official juriseonsults, whose *responsa* were given in the Emperor's name; and these jurists had the duty, as Gaius strongly expresses it, "of making the law," *condere jura*, that is, by determining the meaning of texts.

The most famous of the jurists of that time was Labeo. It would be satisfactory to be able to depict this learned man, whose father, the friend of Brutus, killed himself after Philippi; but we have neither his life nor his works. It is said that he refused to accept the consulship at the hands of the Emperor, whom he esteemed, but did not love. We know that he occupied only the office of praetor, and his haughty reply on the subject of Lepidus

¹ This is what Cicero expresses in three words: *respondebant, scribebant, cavebant*.

² *Digest*, i. pr. sec. 1. [*Solium* was the word. — Ed.]

³ *Stationes jus docentium* (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* XIII. xiii. 1).

is historic.¹ He composed more than forty treatises, one of which was a commentary on the Twelve Tables; and numerous fragments of them are preserved in the Pandects.

Labeo and his rival Capito, who was much in favor with Augustus and Tiberius, were the chiefs of the two schools of jurisprudence, the Proculiani and Sabiniani, which in the end were merged in the vast unity of the Roman law.² It is not without interest to notice, as yet another trait of the restoration attempted by Augustus, that his favorite jurist advocated the literal and rigorous application of the old laws; while the son of the man who was conquered at Philippi sought more freely for their spirit, and yielded more to the new principles which reason, applied to the interests of the Eternal City, revealed.

The Roman jurists have great merits, — a comprehension of social needs so clear that they were able to foresee the forms these needs would take; a reasoning so close that they drew from the text all its necessary consequences; a method so rigorous that it may be compared to that of the geometers, and has given the laws of Rome the appellation of “written reason;” and, lastly, a clear, exact, simple style, almost like that of an inscription, which seems designed to leave nothing to arbitrary or sophistical interpretation. But, it must be owned, these *prudentes* are too reticent; and the jurists of Rome do not escape from the general character of the Roman mind, that is to say, a commonplace tone and the lack of abstract philosophic ideas, theories, and systems. Was Gaius a Stoic? and did Ulpian belong to the Epicurean sect? It is so thought by some, but no one can affirm it; we may say, however, that the legal mind which analyzes, discusses, and classifies is the opposite of the Stoic, which establishes no difference between a crime and the most trifling misconduct. The jurisconsults of Rome occupy themselves with texts, and not with matters like these, which, whether sublime truths or dangerous delusions, pure gold or worthless dross, are only found outside the beaten paths. Their genius is altogether practical, and their utility is their glory. After all, this definition of

¹ See p. 87.

² Cf. Pomp. (*Digest*, i. 2, 47), and Tac. (*Ann.* iii. 75).

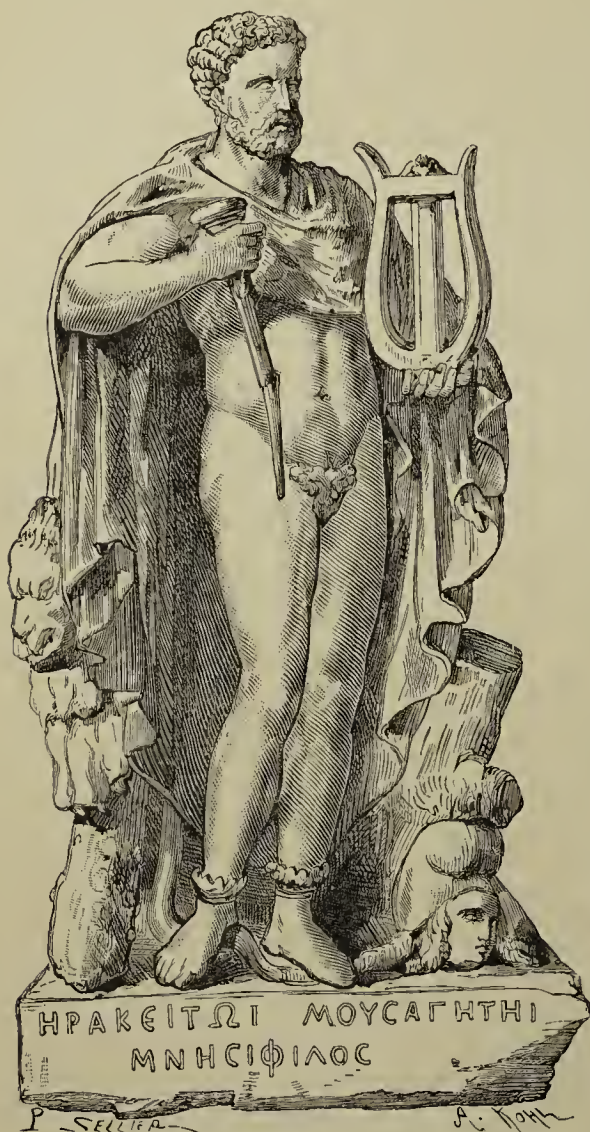
jurisprudence, *Ars boni et aequi*, and these three precepts, — To live honorably, to injure no man; and to render to each his due, — are more useful for the ordinary conduct of life than the most brilliant creations of the philosophic mind. The ideal of the Greeks is the beautiful, τὸ καλόν; that of the Romans is the honorable, *honestum*, that is, all that elevates personal character. If we must grant that, in the work of the ancient civilization, the Greeks have the more beautiful share, — literature, art, and science, the Romans have certainly the more useful, — the law; with, however, the important reservation that this law, so equitable for the interests of each man, was placed by the jurists below the principle of the Emperor's absolute authority, *quod principi placuit legis vigorem habet*, and became in consequence the instrument of despotism in the Roman Empire, and later in modern monarchies. But with the evil came its remedy. All this legislation is animated with a reasonable spirit which some day will destroy the principle of the Emperor's absolute right; and it is chiefly to the Roman laws that Latin Europe owes that philosophic, or rather socialistic, spirit which has had its highest expression in France.

From Rome's greatest science we pass to architecture, her favorite art. If we except the wall of Servius, the Cloaca Maxima, the aqueducts, the military roads, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, Pompey's Theatre, Portico, and Curia, and on the Appian Way the strange tomb of Cæcilia Metella (*Capo di Bove*), ancient Rome had but few great constructions. Julius Caesar began the building of monumental Rome with his Forum and his temple of Venus Genetrix, his Basilica, which Augustus completed, and especially with his great Circus.¹ Caesar sent home from Gaul to Aemilius Paulus eight million sesterces to complete a five-apsed basilica, which was decorated with a prodigious quantity of columns of Phrygian marble, and he aided Curio in the building of two contiguous theatres, which a powerful mechanism caused to turn when filled with spectators, so as to enclose an arena for the combats of the amphitheatre.

Augustus promoted all work of this kind. "I have built," he says in his Testament, "sixteen new temples, a senate-house,

¹ Seven hundred yards long, three hundred broad, surrounded by a two-storied portico, where were placed two obelisks which, in 1587, were found twenty-four feet under ground.

the Julian Basilica, the Forum which bears my name, the theatre of Marcellus, a naumachia beyond the Tiber, and two porticos.¹ I have restored at great expense the Capitol and Pompey's Theatre,



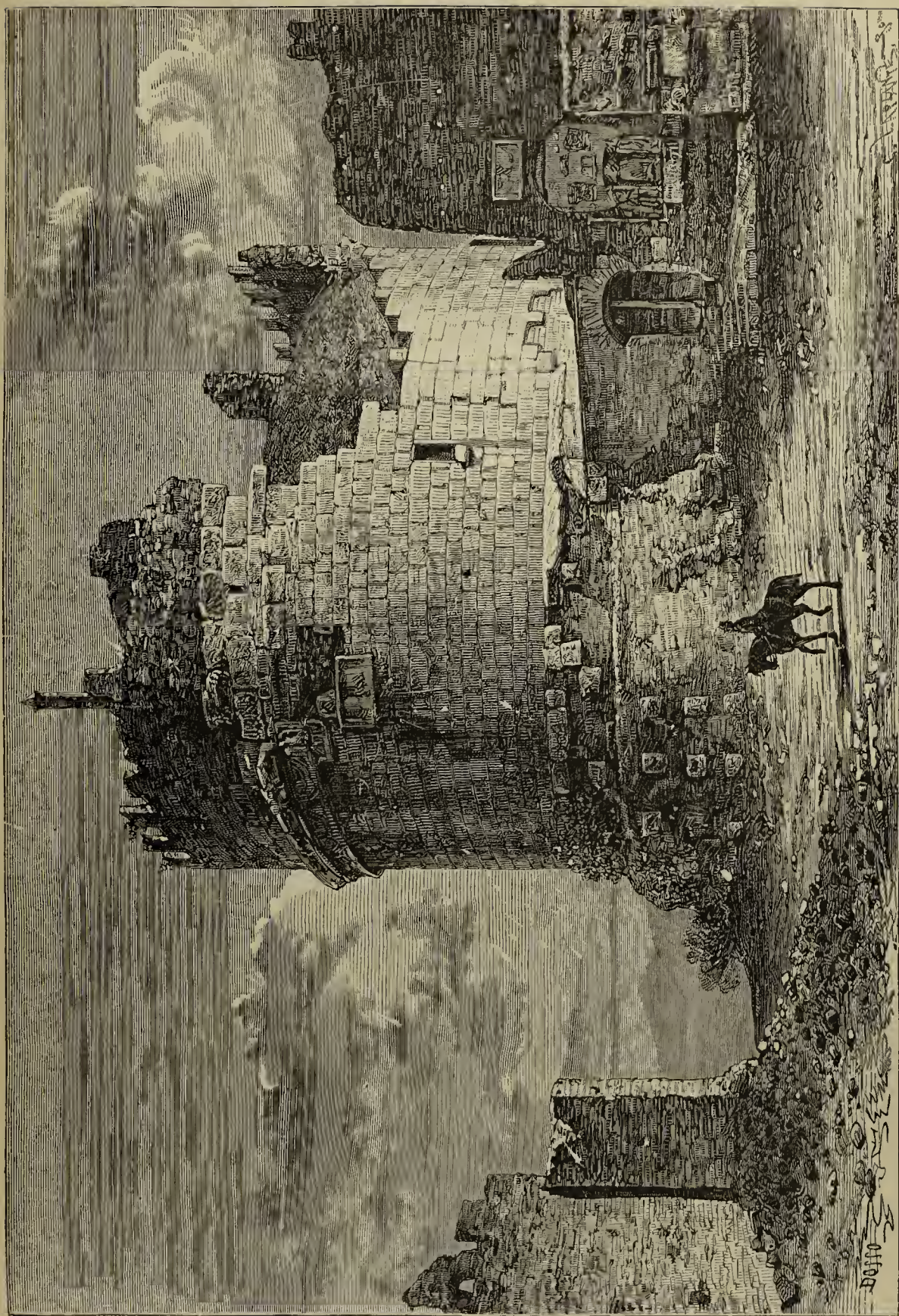
HERCULES MUSAGETES.²

without, however, inscribing my name upon them. I have completed the Julian Forum and the basilica situated between the temples of Castor and of Saturn, which were commenced by my father. The basilica being destroyed by fire, I rebuilt it on a larger scale; and I have repaired eighty-two temples." Many persons of importance followed the Emperor's example in order to gain his favor, expending what was left to them of proconsular fortunes or imperial bounty in decorating the city. Maecenas improved the sanitary condition of the Esquiline, and built a palace there surrounded with splendid gardens; and when to this the Emperor added a grove and a basilica with spacious galleries, the hill, which had originally been the place of execution and burial of slaves, became

one of the most beautiful promenades in Rome. Temples were built by Philippus to the Hercules of the Muses; by Cornificius, to Diana; by Plancus, to Saturn. Balbus erected a theatre whose mere ruins now make the Monte Cenci; Taurus, an amphitheatre, which will perhaps be discovered some day under the Monte Gior-

¹ Of one of these porticoes, that of Octavia, a few columns remain, and it is believed that the Venus de' Medici was found here. On the spot which it occupied, near Santa Maria, in Campitelli, is now a fish-market.

² From Montfaucon, vol. i. 2d part, pl. 137, fig. 1. See in Vol. II. p. 128, another Hercules Musagetes, from an engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France*.



TOMB OF CAECILIA METELLA, ON THE APPIAN WAY.



dano; Pollio, the Atrium Libertatis; and in the valley which lies between the Quirinal and the Pincio, Sallust laid out his famous gardens.¹ It is to be wished that we could describe the theatre of Marcellus, which, with its three orders, one over the other,² must have been one of the most remarkable buildings in Rome.

The Pantheon of Agrippa, however, stands in all its perfection.



THE PANTHEON, ACCORDING TO DU PERAC, IN 1575.

In the interior this round temple awakens admiration by its great dome, the largest existing, which seems to rest upon the ground, as at the horizon the dome of the sky rests upon the earth.³ At the top it opens in an orifice twenty-eight feet in diameter, so that the enormous mass seems to be balanced by some miracle, and the entire temple is lighted only from the top. It was evidently

¹ The *Horti Sallustiani* became imperial property, and one of the beautiful statues of Antinous has been found there.

² The placing of different orders one above another was a Roman invention. It was never done in Greece. [A second story of pillars was not uncommon. — ED.]

³ The dome does not actually spring from the ground; it rests upon a *podium* or circular wall, seventy-one and a half feet in height.

Agrippa's design that the first monument of the new Rome should symbolize the world, whereof the Empire of Augustus occupied the larger part.¹ The single eye of this dome of stone is at such a height from the ground that in spite of its wide aperture the temperature of the building never changes. "The most violent hurricane sends down scarcely a breath upon the head of one standing beneath, and in a shower you will see the rain fall vertically upon the pavement of the rotunda and trace a wet circle there. The cylinder of drops falling through the space of this great building makes one conscious how immense it is. It is in conceptions like these that the Roman was truly great."² Unfortunately the multiplicity of details in the ornamentation impairs the general effect. Such was the quantity of bronze employed in it that Pope Urban VIII., after much had been taken away, still found enough there to cast a number of cannon and the immense baldachin in St. Peter's. But it must be acknowledged that this allegory in stone, majestic from the interior, from the exterior appears flat and heavy. It has been well said by M. Ch. Blanc (*Grammaire des Arts du Dessin*, p. 86): ". . . A cupola, seen from without, by its curve deprives you of a part of its extent, since, instead of developing itself, it enfolds itself, and appears foreshortened. Only the diameter is seen as it really is. A singular thing is that a rectangular temple like that at Paestum is made larger by its outlines, while a circular one is made smaller, so that the two buildings deceive the eye in opposite ways, — the one concealing its smallness, the other its magnitude."

Nor was the site happily chosen; it was near the old Goat's Pool, the place where Romulus, being assassinated, was made a god. Tradition recommended this corner of the Campus Martius, where there was already another massive edifice, the *Thermae* of Agrippa. The Greeks certainly would never have built the Pantheon there, for they understood that buildings gain much from the site; but Agrippa, who was the least Greek³ of all the Romans,

¹ *Illa inclita Roma*

Imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo (Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 781-2).

² Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'Architecture*.

³ *Vir rusticitati proprior quam delieis* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 4). Two things diminish much the effect of the Pantheon, — the region about it having been raised, you go down to the building instead of going up to it; and, secondly, the stucco or marble with which it was

proposed to obtain his effect from the imposing mass of the building rather than from the elegance of its proportions or the fitness of its surroundings.

This circular form reappears again in the tomb of Caecilia Metella and in the mausoleum of Augustus, a great pyramidal tower covered with white marble and as high (328 feet) as it was broad at the base, but divided into three stories by retreating steps, each of which was planted with cypress-trees. On the top the statue of Augustus surmounted a small round temple, in which stood an urn destined to contain the Emperor's ashes. The conqueror of Egypt doubtless designed to have a tomb resembling the royal sepulchres of Memphis; or, possibly, the architect found the suggestion of his monument at the gates of Rome in that tomb of Capo di Bove, so easily turned into a fortress by the Mediaeval engineers.¹

After all these constructions Augustus boasted that, having found the city brick, he had left it marble. The eulogy is merited: Augustus, without doubt, filled Rome with marble; but did his architects introduce a Roman art into Rome? and what place does that art hold in the general history of architectural ideas? The question is so important in the study we are making of the character of the Roman society that we shall be pardoned for delaying upon it for a moment.²

covered externally having fallen off, the wall appears in its nudity, showing the poor material of bricks of which it is made, which Agrippa would certainly have concealed. In the *Piante iconografiche di Roma anteriori al secolo XVI.*, published in 1880 by M. Rossi, the Pantheon is raised by five steps at the entrance and four in the entire circumference; but I believe this design to be an arbitrary restoration of an artist about the close of the fifteenth century. All the plans of the sixteenth century represent the base of the Pantheon as lower than the adjacent ground.

¹ The temple of Mars Bisulter, built by Augustus on the Capitol to contain the standards of Crassus, was also round, but very small. The excavations made since 1861 by M. Pietro Rosa in the Farnese gardens upon the Palatine, where at the close of the last century was found the house of Augustus, have brought to light the remains of the temples of Jupiter Victor and Jupiter Stator, some courses of the wall of Roma quadrata, and more recently the house of Livia. The walls of many rooms are covered with stucco and with the best mural paintings left us by antiquity. This house of the Empress is extremely small and simple, confirming what historians relate of the modest habits of the imperial family.

² Hegel says: "A people may have absolutely disappeared from the earth and from history, leaving behind them but a single monument, and this monument may permit us to penetrate the recesses of their thoughts." Had we, for example, but the Thermae of Caracalla and the Colosseum of Titus, we should understand at least half the character of the Roman society of their time.

The art of the Greeks is marvellously simple and strictly logical. To them the exterior form of the building is given by the building itself, as in the human figure the envelope depends upon the bony framework, which it reproduces, softening it by harmonious lines. The Greek temple is a unit, structure and ornamentation coming from a single idea. Thus one of Plato's ideas creates as it were spontaneously the form which expresses it.

The Romans are not artists of a nature so delicate as this; they love the beautiful and employ it in works of pure art, as a temple or a triumphal arch. But they always make it subservient to the useful; and this preoccupation sometimes destroys the unity of the plan. Many of their edifices seem to have had two architects, the one constructing, the other decorating; one preparing the skeleton of the building, the other adding the decorating envelope.

Rich, mighty, and numerous, the Romans desired to have in their vast capital public edifices corresponding to their Empire; like it, imposing by their mass rather than by the ideas which they awaken, and overloaded with borrowed ornament, — as their literature is a reflection from Greece, and their elegance an exotic luxury stolen from Tarentum and Syracuse, from the kings of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt.

What was this mausoleum of Augustus? A mass of earth



COIN OF SELINUS.¹

and stone, of trees and columns, everywhere betraying effort and an attempt at grace, as if the architect had sought to trick out a Pharaonic pyramid to please the taste of the fine gentlemen of Rome. And this

Pantheon of Agrippa, so heavy and massive, this challenge to all future builders,² became a mighty work of art, speaking to the eye and to the mind, only when Michael Angelo took it and placed it on the summit of St. Peter's.

¹ ΣΕΛΙΝΟΣ. Apollo standing, holding a patera and a branch of laurel. On the reverse, ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ. Apollo, discharging an arrow, in a biga driven by Diana. Tetradrachm of Selinus.

² The dome of St. Paul's in London is 112 feet in diameter; that of St. Sophia, 104; of

In Hellas, the temple was the narrow dwelling-place of a divinity who from his pedestal presided over the worship that went on, not only within the sacred courts, but far outside of them, and the Greek, a lover of Nature as much as of ideas, associated her, the Great Artist, with his own work. He crowned Cape Sunium with an edifice, and he lifted the Parthenon to the top of the Acropolis; he built the temple of Apollo on the crags of Parnassus, and the temples of Agrigentum and Selinus on the hills which were the rampart to those cities, that the



REMAINS OF THE LIBRARY AND OF THE PUBLIC PALACE.

gods from their sanctuaries might look down upon the harbor and all the people placed under their protection.¹ If he were obliged to build on a plain, he at least isolated the building, and gave it, as at Paestum, the sea for a background, or, as at Olympia, a belt of laughing fields, with grand memories for decoration, and always some sacred grove for its neighbor.

St. Peter's and of the Duomo in Florence, 139; and that of Agrippa's Pantheon, 142½. In Paris the dome of the Halle aux Blés is 131 feet; and that of St. Geneviève, 167.

¹ At Corinth the old Doric temple stood upon the slope of the hill which bore the citadel; at Rhamnus it was built at the extremity of a plateau descending to the sea with an abrupt slope; at Crotona, Metapontum, and Syraeuse the same arrangement was made; at Eleusis it was situated on the levelled top of a rock on the slope of a hill overlooking the bay.

The Roman loves the earth for what it produces, the sea because it favors commerce, the hills for the spring that he finds there, the mountain for its fresh, cool breezes. He cares little if political or religious expediency places his temples in low sites where, since air and space are lacking, their mass will not be seen clear-cut in the light which bathes the hill-tops. He has nine hills, of which each one is a natural pedestal for an architectural work, and with the sole exception of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which he was compelled to place within the

A ROMAN VILLA.¹

fortress of the Capitol, he accumulates all his temples in the Forum and the Campus Martius, — regions which were originally swamps. They were offerings vowed in battle to obtain the favor of some god; the divinity has the dwelling which was promised to him, and that is enough.²

But for himself the Roman is more exacting. If he is rich

¹ From a Pompeian painting (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. 5th series, pl. 32).

² However, after Augustus had built upon the Palatine around his house, this hill must have presented an imposing sight.

he will place his country house in some lovely spot on the hills of Tibur or Tusculum, looking down into a smiling valley, or facing that Bay of Naples which never palls upon the admiring eye. In his city all things must be made convenient for his pleasures or his business; and he will have public buildings capable of sheltering multitudes because his sky is sometimes inclement, and of lodging the various branches of the public service because his wants are numerous.



PORTA TIBURTINA (NOW ST. LORENZO'S).

He therefore builds, —

Basilicas, with nave and aisles, for judges, advocates, suitors, and tradesmen;

Porticos, where the “royal people” may parade, sheltered from sun or rain, their idle royalty;¹

Libraries and museums, because he has this taste, common to polite societies, of enjoying other men's wit;²

¹ In the Campus Martius it was possible to walk nearly three miles under the porticos.

² Publius Viator enumerates in his list twenty-nine public libraries at Rome.

Palaces and enchanting villas, where emperors and consuls live and the millionaire freedmen;

Circuses and theatres, often too large when a play of Terence was performed, and amphitheatres which were never large enough, since there the Roman found his chief delight,—the hunting of men;¹

Monumental gates to adorn the entrance to the city, and thick walls for its defence; sewers to keep it wholesome, and aqueducts to bring from the mountains the clear, fresh water which the Tiber cannot supply,² and even tunnels to catch the springs in the heart of the hills;³

Military roads and bridges, by means of which the soldiers and merchants and the sovereign will of Rome might readily make their way from the centre of the Empire to its extremities;

Triumphal arches, to receive the victorious legions on their return, and votive columns, to keep alive the memory of distant expeditions;

Barracks for the standing army, and *diribitoria* for the distributions made to the beggar populace;

And, lastly, *thermae*,⁴ where are collected all the refinements of idleness and Southern luxury. At all hours of the day the crowd gathers there, seeking in the marble basins and the perfumed

¹ Even under the Empire the Greeks had no pleasure in combats of wild beasts and gladiators. These amusements were repugnant to their minds, formed as they were for art and literature and science. Only two amphitheatres have been found in the whole of Asia Minor, and those on the very edge of the country, at Cyzicus and Pergamus, where many Romans lived.

² The aqueducts of Rome, counting those only which are mentioned by Frontinus, were about two hundred and seventy miles in length, of which thirty were upon arches. These arches, which were very expensive constructions, could have been avoided by the use of pipes, as Frontinus recommended. But the people were indifferent to the cost when it was a question of display; and rather than hide their conduits of water under the ground, they caused them to traverse the Roman Campagna upon majestic arches. They however frequently employed pipes. For the construction of the aqueducts the law allowed the taking of material from the adjacent country upon the payment of indemnities to the proprietors, the amount being settled by arbitration. A strip of land fifteen feet wide was reserved on each side for the service of the aqueduct; this was the *servitus aquaeductuum*.

³ At Antibes a tunnel, nearly five thousand metres in length, was excavated. Later we shall speak of the outlet of Lake Fucinus.

⁴ In the time of Constantine there were fifteen *thermae* in Rome. Those of Agrippa, behind the Pantheon, occupied a space of about nine hundred feet from north to south, and nine hundred and fifty from east to west. The baths of Caracalla covered a space six times greater, being nearly a mile in circuit. See Blouet, *Les Thermes de Caracalla*, who gives a fine restoration of them.

halls air and water at every temperature. Then, the body being well rubbed with oil and the limbs supple, the Roman walks slowly, amid a population of statues, through gardens cooled by springing fountains, or takes his exercise in the *palaestra*, where every kind of game is provided; or else perhaps he will prefer to read under a portico in some solitary corner, or listen, in academic halls adorned with precious mosaics, to rhetoricians declaiming, or philosophers discussing, or to some poet soliciting for his lame verses the facile applause of an indolent audience.

On the shores of the Aegean Sea the strongest of all human emotions, religion and patriotism, unite to form the inspiration of the artist. The Romans of the Empire did not look so high. They asked of art to render their lives more agreeable, not more noble. "Let others," says their poet, "make the marble live and the brass breathe; let their eloquence establish the right, and their science measure the stars. Thine art, O people of Rome, is to govern the world by imposing peace upon it." And Augustus adds, "it is moreover to organize wisely this subject world, to give it just laws, and to secure for it all that makes life comfortable."

The Greeks created an incomparable religious architecture, and a statuary of gods and heroes which expresses the divine; they have established in construction the eternal principles of the beautiful: and for this reason Greek art will forever remain the pure and sacred spring.¹ To the Romans is due a different honor: they have created the architecture of public utility, so that if we are bound to the former by that which is highest, — ideas, — we are bound to the latter by that which is very imperious, — needs. There is no man of us who would not prefer to have been a Greek; but we are very glad that the Romans existed.

A first difference has been shown in the employment of the art; there are others produced by the nature of the materials employed in construction.

¹ I mean the spring whence the artist obtains inspiration, but not the model which he should servilely copy; for architecture is required in each country to modify its forms in accordance with the conditions of light, of temperature, of dryness or humidity, which constitute the climate. A Greek edifice, a Greek statue even, is incongruous in St. Petersburg, although in architecture and in sculpture the same principles must be employed there which were discovered or applied in Greece; just as, in order to reason well, a man must reason after the methods of Socrates and Aristotle, whatever be the language in which he speaks.

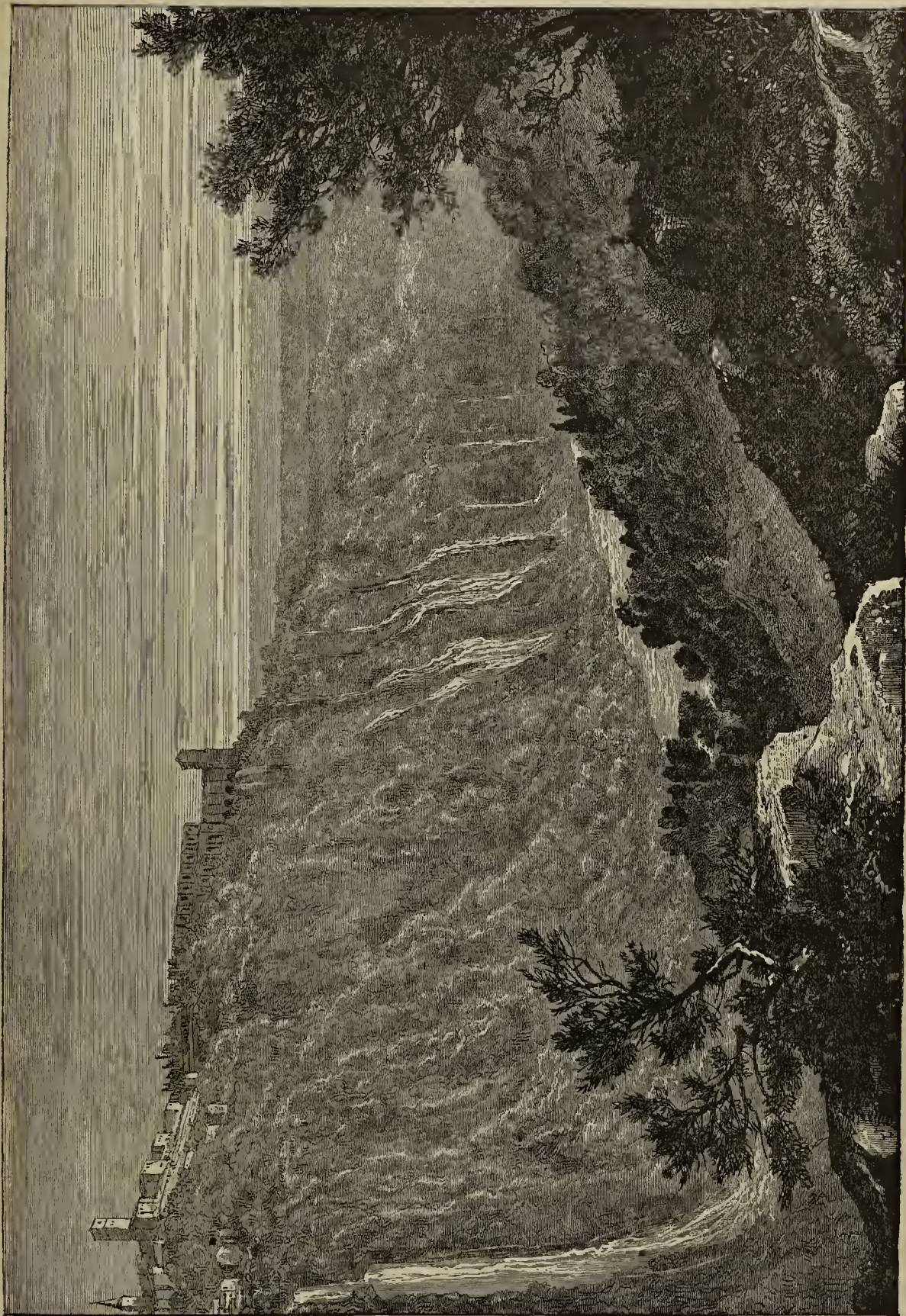
Thanks to Pentelicus, Hymettus, and Paros, the Athenians built with marble, and used this stone with such skill that, after twenty-three centuries, one must look closely to find the seams in the columns or the walls; every layer is added by the hand of an artist. The soil of Latium, on the contrary, condemned the Romans to build in brick consolidated with rubble and ties of stone, which an artisan, intelligently directed, was well able to lay.¹ But the Greek temple could only be built where, as in Greece, the ground contained marble or limestone easily wrought. The Romans were able to build everywhere, because they could always find stone for the facing, or at least obtain ashlar and rubble, earth for bricks, lime for their indestructible cement, and hands to do the work. From this it resulted that, with materials so easily used and yet so durable, there was nothing to prevent them from giving their public buildings those colossal proportions which are not always one of the conditions of beauty, but from which the artist can obtain very imposing effects.

Thus the great charm of the Roman Campagna is above all in those immense aqueducts which, descending from the hills of Tivoli and Albano, traverse with so much grace and majesty the Latin plain. Some half-destroyed hall in the baths of Caracalla has in its desolation an imposing grandeur; and the Colosseum, built of brick and Tiburtine stone, produces upon one an impression more profound than that made by the Pyramids of Ghizeh.

As is a people, so will be their art; the domination of Rome is shown in these roads, which go forward, like her will, without turning aside for any obstacle,² and in these constructions, massive and destitute of grace,—I was about to say, destitute of art,—which show so much strength, rise so high, and weigh so heavily upon the earth which bears them.

¹ This is the mode of construction indicated by Vitruvius, ii. 8. Brick is eternal, he says, and with truth.

² Thus these roads, whose *agger*, or road-bed, was a solid construction averaging over three feet in depth, had very steep grades, and embankments over the marshes, rising in some places to 39½ feet for a distance of twelve miles, as in a part of the Appian Way made by Trajan, with culverts, viaducts, and tunnels, like that of Furlo, which Vespasian built under the Apennines for the Flaminian Way. In France alone have been made in twenty-five years four hundred and forty tunnels, with a length in all of a hundred and twenty miles; but we possess powerful agencies, while the Romans, having neither powder nor dynamite nor perforating machines, were obliged to depend solely upon the pick and the wedge.



TIVOLI.

The architecture of the Romans, lending itself to all the needs of civil life, spread like their language, laws, and manners, throughout Western Europe, where it, like them, has left an imperishable stamp; and where the ruler was sufficiently liberal, or citizens and a city were rich enough to use hewn stone instead of the brick, or to decorate the edifice with precious marbles, the ruins of their buildings are worthy to be compared with the grandest and most beautiful of the world.

This character of materials enabled the Romans to add to Greek art new elements, — the arch and vault, borrowed by them from the Etruscans.¹ The Greeks were acquainted with the vault, which existed in the East in the earliest times; for example, in Nineveh and Egypt. But they did not employ it because it interfered with their combinations, at once so simple and so beautiful, of vertical and horizontal surfaces and lines; perhaps, also, because the vault must rest upon strong abutments, mere inert masonry requiring much strength, space, and material useless from the point of view of art.² The Greek is economical, not after the fashion of the early Roman, who chaffered even with his gods, but as an artist who knows that nature never expends more strength than is needful, and that art should seek to produce, like nature, great effects with small effort.

The arch and the vault, added to the column and the architrave, give room for new combinations, — the round arch and the pointed arch, of which the Western Mediæval period made the Romanesque and the Gothic; and the cupola, which in the East became the special characteristic of the Arab and Byzantine styles.

The pillage of the world permitted Rome to lavish upon her edifices of the Forum and the Campus Martius the rarest marbles; and all the quarries of the Empire were worked for her. A considerable store³ of these marbles was found some years ago on

¹ Lübke, *Geschichte der Architectur*, p. 157.

² The little monument of Lysicrates at Athens is roofed with a cupola. The temple of Aesculapius at Epidauros, the rotunda of Epimenides at Sparta, and the Prytaneium at Athens were also circular buildings; but the vault is an exception in Greek architecture.

³ Specimens of marbles which are now lost are found there. The quarries of Carrara, worked from Caesar's time (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* i. 36), possibly sooner (Strabo, i. 5, 22), rivalled those of Paros and Pentelicus. Mamurra, the *præfectus fabrum* of Caesar, decorated his house on Mount Caelius with these marbles.

the road to Ostia. But private individuals and provincial cities, even Rome herself, often built in rubble and brick. To conceal under rich materials the sombre masses and dull outlines of the useful materials, the Romans united all the decorative elements that the Greeks and Etruscans had invented, devised more, and employed them all in profusion. Hence so many columns, entablatures, small arches, and architraves, even in places where they contradict the general plan;¹ so much precious marble applied in panels to the walls, so many panelled ceilings, so much stucco, itself covered with elegant paintings, so many sculptures and ornaments of metal, chiselled ivory, mother-of-pearl, pearls, and even gems; and, lastly, all these mosaics, which may be indeed a great labor, but are never a great art.²

In the time of the Republic the Doric order had prevailed in the temples. But it was now thought to be too severe; the Ionic, with its light spirals, appeared too delicate; and, under Augustus, these *parvenus* in art could not be satisfied with less than the exuberant richness of the Corinthian. "Thou couldst not render thy Venus beautiful," was said by some one to a poor imitator of Pheidias; "thou hast made her rich." It is the method the Italians have followed in many of their churches; and it seems to suit also the administrative display of our great halls and the vain desires of our sudden fortunes.

Thus the Romans cast over their edifices of brick or stone a splendid garment,—a loose drapery not always following the movements of the body. To the Pantheon, in which the lines are all curved and the surfaces all concave, Agrippa attached an incongruous rectilinear portico, supported by Corinthian monoliths. It is rich and imposing, but it is absolutely out of place.³

This tendency of the Romans to consider the structure and the decoration apart has had disastrous consequences. Condemned

¹ Ch. Blanc, *Gramm. des Arts du Dessin*, p. 270.

² All Pompeii was covered with stucco. This is true, however, of many of the Greek temples. See in Suetonius the description of Nero's Golden House.

³ This is the opinion of Viollet-le-Duc and of Dr. Schnaase (*Ist diese Vorhalle ein Zusatz, ein angefügter Schmuck, der nicht aus dem Ganzen hervorgegangen ist*, ii. 352); it is also the involuntary feeling of every spectator. M. Ch. Blanc well says: "Architecture is not a construction that is decorated, but a decoration that is constructed."

to a subordinate existence, art became a trade; it languished for some time, and then disappeared. At the end of the century of the Antonines it is sought for, and rarely to be found; later there are only builders who know how to move enormous masses of stone and carry them to prodigious heights, but who are unskilled in decorating them. Science remains, because it is transmissible; and when it is supported by the religious sentiment it still produces very grand effects. Art, which is personal and very delicate of nature, did not survive the barbarism of manners; it came back to life only at the breath of the Renaissance, which called antiquity from its grave. Since that epoch, when a charming art bloomed which was too soon abandoned, Roman architecture has again found favorable social conditions; and it is this style which has been dominant in European buildings to the present day.

We can now easily answer the question we have asked concerning Roman architecture. The Romans did not possess creative genius.¹ Nevertheless, in composing from borrowed elements an art which they carried from the Petra of the Nabathaeans to the Lutetia of the Parisii; from which proceeds, by natural generation, a portion both of Christian and of Mussulman art; which prevails among us by reason of its easy adaptation to our wants and our tastes; which, lastly, though lacking in the highest elements of beauty, yet expresses grandeur and power,—the architects of Rome deserve a place beside her legists and her writers. The laws, the literature, and the edifices of Rome are indeed the legacy of a great Empire.

And still, what Rome has bequeathed to posterity is not the legacy left by a society which had aspired to that ideal, the mere pursuit of which forever does honor to those who have sought it. If, in fact, we consider the Roman world in its whole intellectual life, we are forced to recognize that, although it came after the magnificent development of the sciences and of philosophy in Greece, it had neither philosophy nor science; that, had not the Greeks brought to it their marbles, their pictures, their statues,

¹ We must further add that their architects were Greeks. Pliny asks for one from Trajan to carry on the works at Nicaea; the Emperor replies (*Epist.* x. 49): "Look in Greece;" *ex Graecia etiam architecti ad nos venire soliti sunt.*

and what was left of their genius, it would be without art; that its literature, though brilliant, lacks the creative breath; that its festivals were the obscenities of the comic drama and the sanguinary games of the amphitheatre; that its religion was less an act of gratitude and adoration than a sort of constraint exercised upon the gods to secure their favors.¹ Moreover, — notwithstanding Horace and Vergil and the architects of the “marble Rome” of Augustus, — Roman gravity seems to us heavy. This practical genius, forever directed towards utility, appears to be held down by its own weight in those mid regions of thought whence never spring the electric flashes that light up the world; and in the general history of civilization this people descends from the first to the second rank of nations: but it descends, bearing in its hands, like Moses, the tables of the law.

It is an imperishable honor to the Romans that they founded the civil law, as the Jews composed the religious law and the Greeks that of thought and art.² But we who desire to be — and who are — at once the heirs of Rome, Jerusalem, and Athens, should not forget the lesson which springs for us from this study of the genius of the Romans at the finest epoch of their history, and from this memorable example should learn how much enthusiasm and impulse is lost to the genius of a people by the abandonment of those high theoretic speculations which the crowd call valueless. Another great empire, whose rulers at one time divided the world with the Roman Caesars, China, presents in its history the same taste for utilizing all knowledge, the same disdain for pure science. Both have been condemned to see their civilization stand still; while from Attica, that little corner of earth scarce visible between the two colossi, the movement of the world has originated.

However, if in spontaneousness and power the Age of Augustus falls below that of Pericles, and in art and boldness of thought below the Renaissance; if the Age of Louis XIV. is more complete,

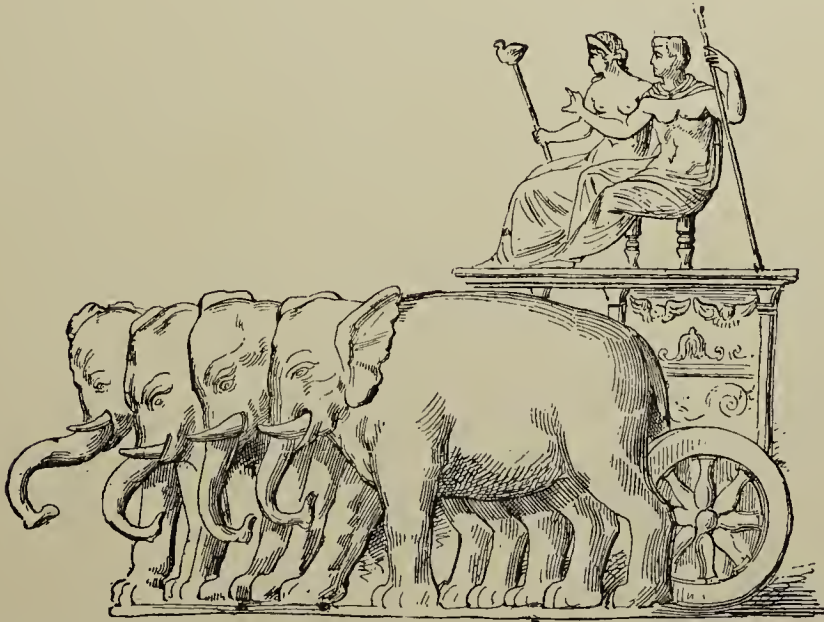
¹ . . . *Obligat ille* (Augustus) *deos* (Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 62).

² The Greek orders and the canon of Polyclethus were the laws of architecture and statuary, as the *Organon* of Aristotle remained till the time of Bacon and Descartes the rule which guided reason in the search for truth and its exposition to others.

and in certain regards superior, — this period was nevertheless one of those brilliant epochs of humanity in which it is a pleasure to take refuge from the cares of impending age and from the griefs of one's country.¹

¹ This chapter was written in Paris, November and December, 1870.

² Reverse of a coin of Nerva (enlarged).



JUPITER AND JUNO IN A TRIUMPHAL CAR DRAWN BY FOUR ELEPHANTS.²

CHAPTER LXXI.

THE WORK OF AUGUSTUS AND THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW EMPIRE.

I.—AUGUSTUS ACCOMPLISHES AN INEVITABLE REVOLUTION, BUT HE DOES NOT ORGANIZE.

THE years following the battle of Actium were the critical period of the ancient world. Upon the direction then taken by Roman civilization depended the future of innumerable generations. Would it turn towards the East, and fall back into the ways of the Asiatic monarchies, or towards the West, and take up the federal and free institutions of the Greek, Italian, and Gallic races? Would the conquering city remain under its master a city, sovereign and privileged; or was it about to become a great state, having solidarity in all its parts, in whose midst the coming of the modern nations should be peacefully prepared? This was the problem which presented itself to the founder of the Empire, unless he should prefer, like the man of mere ambition, to make himself the servant of events and follow them with self-seeking docility, while constantly turning them to his own advantage.

We have examined in the preceding chapters the work of Augustus; and by the care which he took in preparing the memoirs of his life, a summary of which was engraved on the walls of temples, we must believe that he expected public gratitude.

This gratitude he merited from his contemporaries, for it was a great thing to have given to that vexed world a half-century of peace; but does he merit it equally from posterity?

It has been the practice at once unduly to exalt and unduly to depreciate this man. His long prosperity cannot be attributed to favorable chances, for Fortune serves those only who know how

to control her; and these persons are of two sorts, — the strong and the skilful; the latter not so great as the former, but in some circumstances more useful. To this latter class Augustus belonged. That domination which Caesar had established, his adopted son reconquered and sought to render durable. Augustus occupied almost a half-century in gently leading Rome towards royalty, while it took Napoleon only four years to advance from the consulship to the Empire. But in France the old institution was the monarchy, and though ideas were opposed to it, manners tended that way; at Rome it was the Republic, and the memory of that institution was hard to efface. It was necessary to bring manners, ideas, laws, and the administration into harmony with the new order of things. Upon manners (those, I mean, of public life) he acted through Maecenas and Sallust and all those of his friends who showed disinclination to accept office and who set an example of the course now to be followed, — namely, the relinquishment of all ambition and intrigue, a self-forgetfulness either sincere or feigned, and a limitless docility, turning men's attention and hopes away from the senate-house and the Forum, where nothing was now done, and towards the royal palace, where all things were given away. Upon ideas he acted through Horace and Vergil, nobly conquered to his cause, and only paid a legitimate debt when he swore by the Muses, for under his reign they were monarchical. Lastly, by his laws, his regulations, and his vigilance he caused justice to prevail in the administration, order in the finances, peace in the provinces, and gathered up all power into his own hands; but so discreetly that he made himself appear to be merely the first citizen in the Republic, and was great while affecting to be humble.

We have read in his Testament what he himself thought of the nature of his authority, or at least what he wished others to think: "After having suppressed the civil wars, I gave back the government to the Senate and the Roman people; . . . from this time, although I surpassed all other citizens in public consideration, I had no more power than those who were my colleagues in the magistracies."

This was really his last thought; for he adds: "When I wrote these lines I was in my seventy-sixth year." Still, we

cannot believe that the great deceiver was himself deceived by the falsehood of his life. He knew well that he was master, and that absolutely; but he desired to lead astray the judgment of posterity, and with a just retaliation, posterity reproaches him

for the hypocrisy of a public career that had in it no grandeur.

A revolution is justified when that which it establishes is more valuable than that which it sweeps away. According to this principle, Augustus at Actium was in the right, and the Empire was an advance for the world. We say it boldly, quoting against Tacitus, Tacitus himself, Pliny, Josephus, Strabo, Philo, Aristides, Dion Cassius, and all the provincial authors;¹ setting over against Caligula and Nero, not only Vespasian and Trajan, but the happiness of an Empire that was too vast to be disturbed by the follies and cruelties of one man. Let us turn our attention away for a



moment from the tragedies of the palace and the curia, and we see Domitian making excellent laws which Nerva confirms; and under Caracalla, Papinian editing the edicts.

Accordingly, we commend Augustus for taking up Caesar's

¹ . . . *Is optimus civitatis status habendus est in quo nihil tale [ambitus comitiorum, expilati socii, cives trucidati] patimur* (Tac., *De Orat.* 37 and cf. 41). — Strabo, liv. vi. *ad fin.*; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 21; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xxi. 2; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 5; Dion, liii. 19. Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε πρὸς τε τὸ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμήθη καὶ γὰρ πού καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατοῦμένους αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι. See pp. 44 sqq.

² Statue in the Museum of Brescia (Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 770 F, No. 1,902 B).

task; we praise him for his liberality of mind, and his taste for art and letters; for his upright administration and for his skill in conducting the Roman people from their anarchical liberty into the repose of a fruitful peace. But we have a right to call to account a founder of empire for what he did not do. When a man ascends so high, it is that he may have a far view, especially in the direction whence comes the future. Had the first Emperor the broad, deep views of the man of great ability? After Antony's death everything was possible to Augustus; what did he do with this power? Occupied with the single care of saving his fortune by concealing it, he lived for himself only from day to day without thought for the morrow, here and there replastering the old edifice, instead of reconstructing it with a strong hand and establishing it upon new foundations capable of bearing it for centuries.

Doubtless the empire of the Caesars was doomed finally to die; such is the law of endless transformation. But by the exercise of prudence the fatal limit may be set back. Four centuries, half of them passed in wretchedness and disgrace, are not a people's lifetime; the Empire might have lasted longer and more prosperously. What state was ever made ready as it was, by nature and man, for a strong and glorious existence? Frontiers easily defensible against enemies who at that time were of little importance, and within the rampart of great rivers, deserts, and high mountains, peoples who, happy in their obedience, since they found in it repose and riches, knew no other name for the power above them than the beautiful appellation, the Roman Peace, *Pax romana*.

Thus, from within and from without, there was no peril to be feared; all the danger, since it was neither in the enemy nor in the subjects, existed therefore in the constitution of the state: and a cruel experience has shown us what unlooked-for successes can be given to a people by a competent and compact organization, which suffers not an atom of the nation's strength to be wasted; while an inefficient organization paralyzes or renders useless courage, devotion, patriotism, and all the resources of a rich and industrious country.

II. — ELEMENTS NEGLECTED BY AUGUSTUS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE.

MANY causes have been assigned for the decay of the Roman Empire; all that have been given, — the economic and the moral conditions of this society, slavery, the insubordination of the legions, the state of public finances, the Barbarians, — are true; but above them all ranks another cause, which alone would have been enough to render its fall certain. The Empire perished because there was no other state institution than the will of the Emperor.

In the ancient republics of Italy and Greece, and among the tribes of Spain and Gaul, power was a function of liberty. It protected general liberty by subordinating, in case of need, the individual liberty to temporary dictatorships. Augustus rendered his dictatorship permanent. In the East, where the king is the son of Heaven, religion and powerful castes defend him; at Rome, how will the monarch be protected? In that world, where ideas of equality have so long prevailed, no man, among those who think, seriously accepts the apotheosis of the ruler; and he stands, without priests or nobles, alone and undefended, facing eighty millions of men, — a position of twofold danger: for in this isolation he is exposed to the blows of all conspirators, who between themselves and the supreme power see only one man's life; and, at the height whence this man beholds the world at his feet and feels himself next to the gods, it is quite possible that he may turn giddy and lose his reason. Thus we explain the assassination, and thus the madness, of so many emperors. It is computed that up to the time of Constantine two thirds of them died a violent death, not to speak of the Thirty Tyrants, who all came to an untimely end.¹

We observe that the imperial institution of Augustus was from the beginning fatal to the emperors themselves; and it must be added that this could not have been otherwise. In states where

¹ Forty-one out of fifty-nine. According to the list prepared by Böttcher, of a hundred and eight persons belonging to the Julian House by blood or alliance, from Caesar to Nero, thirty-nine, or more than a third, perished by a violent death.

law prevails, parties and men agitate to change the law; but where the ruler is all, it is the ruler himself whom they change: thus riot and assassination become the law of the imperial succession. In the interest of both people and ruler there should have been found, therefore, some other way of founding the imperial monarchy than by a concentration in the hands of one man of all the old republican powers, with their dangerous memories of liberty. It was further necessary, since the city had become a world,¹ to set about the formation of a new people of the Empire to take the place of the citizens of former days. Now this new organization did not presuppose ideas foreign to that epoch of history. In noting the already existing institutions which a wise foresight might have developed, and the fatal results produced by certain of those which were at that time established, history, which too often contents itself with applauding success or bewailing disasters, without considering whether the former was legitimate or the latter inevitable, will have adequate means of pronouncing a verdict upon the first of the emperors. As the successors of Augustus inherited his policy, we shall at the same time form some idea of the character which the Empire derived from its founder, and bequeathed in turn to many modern states, wherein the legists of the Mediæval period, by aid of the imperial laws, reconstructed absolute monarchy.

And first, since Augustus was so desirous that the Republic should seem to be maintained, preserving carefully all its outward forms, and so zealous a partisan of the past that he devoted the utmost care to restoring in all trivial matters the old society, why did he, in two essential points, repudiate the national tradition; namely, in the constitution of authority, and in the progressive extension of citizenship?

If the revolution accomplished at Actium and accepted by all men had for inevitable consequence the concentration of authority, it did not require either a life-long and absolute possession, which exposes the state to the peril of being ruled by an enfeebled or capricious hand, or heredity, which brings the risk of rulers minor in age or in wisdom. Hereditary monarchy is

¹ *Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat* (Rutilius, *Itin.* 66).

a conservative force only in those countries where exist independently, as in the France of the Valois and the first Bourbons, great bodies which, being interested in the support of the throne, make themselves its defenders; or among people, like the English, Belgians, and Dutch, whose municipal, provincial, and, consequently, state, institutions are so strong that royalty merely serves them as an ornament, — a sort of keystone to the arch, making complete an edifice which, however, like Agrippa's Pantheon, would in any case still stand firm. Rome had none of those great political bodies which are the work of time, and Augustus was not wise enough to give the Empire those institutions which could be the work of one man. Monarchy found, therefore, in Rome none of

those conditions which are necessary for its regulated existence; hence the existence it had there was one of disorder.



ROME AND AUGUSTUS.²

However, since this immense empire demanded unity of rule, an organization should have been sought which included neither heredity nor the life-tenure of power, — both particularly odious to the Graeco-Roman world, where all depended on election and manhood.¹ The new royalty might have had a character suited

to the circumstances, and also in harmony with Roman traditions; there might have been established for the government that which already existed in the civil law for the family and in the political law for certain offices. The senators were appointed by the two censors, the dictator by one of the consuls, the augurs by their colleagues, and adoption (*adrogatio*) gave means of constituting a legal family, even at the expense of the real heirs. Augustus thought of this. During a serious malady he gave his ring to Agrippa, as the worthiest; and we have seen that he caused his

¹ At the age of sixty the citizen ceased to vote (Festus, v. *Sexagenarius*; Macrobius, *Sat.* i. v.; and Pliny, *Epist.* iv. 23: *Ipsae leges monent quae majorem LX annis otio reddunt*). At sixty-five men were exempt from the capitation tax (Ulpian in the *Digest*, 4, 15, 3, *proem.*).

² From an engraved stone in the Museum of Vienna (Arneth, pl. iv.).

powers to be renewed every ten years, but without having the courage ever to relinquish them. As he grew older, the selfishness of paternal affection obtained the mastery; family interests predominated over the interests of the state. He wounded the great Agrippa by his favors to the son of Octavia, and Tiberius, who up to that time had shown only valuable qualities, by preferring to him the young Caesars. Still, to his latest hour his mind vacillated between two contrary ideas, — the greatness of his house, which he wished to maintain in a royal position, and the security of the Empire, to which he felt that hereditary power was but a poor guaranty. In his Testament he again advised that all authority should not be confided to any one man, and that to the republican magistrates should be left a considerable influence and power of action.¹

But to be just, we must recognize that if the purely Roman system of adoption gave us the Age of the Antonines, it gave us also Caligula and Nero; and that abdication, after ten years of power, was very difficult in a country where there existed



THE YOUNG CAESARS (CAIUS AND LUCIUS).²

no constitutional force capable of compelling it. Excellent in theory, these institutions require, in order to be applied, either an abnegation which is not in human nature, or else institutions stronger than the individual. Augustus was not ready to make this sacrifice himself, and he sought no means of rendering it obligatory upon his successors.

Upon other points he was even more deficient in foresight.

The ancient Senate, the Gracchi, Drusus, Caesar more than all, and even the kings from the earliest times, had desired to broaden the foundations of the Roman dominion by constantly increasing the number of citizens. Latium, a part of the Sabine country and of Etruria, had successively obtained citizenship; proconsular Italy had

¹ Dion, lvi. 33, and Suet., *Octav.* 37: *Quo plures partem administrandae reipublicae caperent.*

² From an engraved cornelian in the Gallery of Florence (Gorrii, vol. i. pl. 2).

conquered it by the Social War; Caesar had given it to Transpadane Gaul, to Sicily, and to so many others that at the late census, made after the battle of Actium, there were more than four million citizens capable of bearing arms. Everything counselled a perseverance in this course; but Augustus stopped short in it. He was very sparing of the citizenship, refusing it to *protégés* of Tiberius, and even of Livia; and in his Testament recommended that no new citizens be created.¹ Yet the entire history of the Republic, the explanation of all her prosperity, is summed up in these words: the successive admission of plebeians to the patrician city, and of Italians to the Roman city. This is the national tradition; and Augustus abandons it at the moment when the Caesarian revolution made a new advance imperative, that the wasted people of the sovereign city should be replaced by the new population of the Empire. After the victory of the plebeians and of the Italians, the hour for the provincials had come. By the fault of Augustus, they were compelled to wait two centuries longer; and when their time came, it was too late: the equality of rights decreed by Caracalla was nothing but the equality of burdens.

The Roman people had been recruited in another way; namely, by enfranchisements. It had gained in this way Livius Andronicus, author of the earliest Roman comedies, Cæcilius, another comic poet, Terence, Horace, Syrus, Plædrus, Tiro, the friend of Cicero and probably editor of his letters, Epictetus, and many others of servile origin or condition who were an honor to arts, letters, and philosophy. The freedmen were often an element of corruption, but they could be also an element of progress, for they were the result of a sort of natural selection which designated for

¹ According to the Monument of Ancyra, the census of the year 28 B. C. gave 4,063,000 citizens; that of the year 8 B. C. gave 4,233,000; that of the year 13 A. D., 4,937,000. This is, in forty-one years of peace, an annual increase of about twenty thousand citizens, — a total falling much below average annual increase of populations, since at this rate two and a half centuries must have passed before the Roman population would have doubled. Even if Augustus had not himself said that he had made it a rule to be very sparing of the citizenship, we should see from the figures given above that his concessions of this right must have been few. It is proper to add that with the political question, in the matter of citizenship, there was also a financial question. Citizens paid neither capitation nor land-tax; in increasing their number the public revenue was therefore diminished. But there was no ground for hesitation between a political measure of the highest necessity and a fiscal interest easily to be provided for in other ways.

liberty the most intelligent of the slaves; and since they were not at that time obtained from inferior races, this new blood infused into the old Roman people was not always vitiated. Augustus still further endeavored to dry up this source of renewal. He limited the number of testamentary enfranchisements (*lex Furia Caninia*); he fixed the age at which the master could give liberty and the slave receive it (*Actia Sentia*); and his testament advised his successors to bar with obstacles the road leading out of slavery.¹ It was a system logically followed out. Augustus conceived the Roman state in a manner as exclusive as certain patricians of the early days; and four centuries earlier he would doubtless have applauded the words of Manlius threatening to assassinate the first Latin who should come to take his seat in the Senate. Ancient Roman life he wished to restore in all its characteristics, its great public policy and its free institutions alone excepted. Here we have the measure of this narrow intelligence, which could neither read the past to profit by its lessons, nor the future to foresee its necessities. Look carefully through the long enumeration of his acts which he caused to be engraved on brass to make his fame eternal, and you will find there not one political idea,—a proof that he had no clear conception of the work of which events made him the instrument.

However, the world could not go on at random. To the revolution which in Rome substituted a single and permanent power for the divided and annual powers of earlier days, corresponded in the provinces a revolution which, without destroying the distinct existence of peoples or cities, constituted a general life, destined later to become the very life of the Empire and its *raison d'être*.

A great state indeed cannot subsist and be defended except on the condition of having ideas which unite many citizens in one common sentiment, and institutions which direct many wills towards the same end, and arm many hands for a united effort. These general institutions Augustus might have given to the Empire; and these common ideas a more able administration would have carefully fostered.

¹ See above, pp. 112, 113, and notes; and p. 134, notes 3 and 4.

The ancients, who so perfectly organized the city, had but a very insufficient conception of the state. Their most famous cities, Athens, Sparta, Carthage, founded no durable dominion for the reason that, comprehending only a sovereignty personally exercised by each citizen in a determined place, they reserved political rights for the few, and maintained the distinction between conquerors and conquered which prevented them from ever forming a great nation. Rome rose to greatness and permanent power by the contrary policy; but she only half solved the problem. She assimilated to herself a part of the vanquished, giving them her own civil laws; but she did not form a homogeneous whole by new political institutions which would have insured her empire a greater force of resistance against exterior dangers.

Between the state, represented by the ruler with his sovereign will, and the thousand cities which kept their own interior administration, there was needed an intermediate body, placed below the formidable power of the Emperor, but above the humble and timid magistrates, whose authority, views, and interests did not go beyond the walls of their own city. This body existed everywhere,—in embryo only, it is true: but if Augustus had given it a broad and serious life; if, as Caesar sought to do, and as Maecenas, it is said, and Claudius proposed,¹ Augustus had selected some of his functionaries and some of his Conscript Fathers from out of the provincial assemblies,² not as a matter of individual favoritism, but in virtue of established rules; if he had attached by some tie the Senate of Rome to the provincial senates, so as to make this assembly really the supreme council of the nation,—he would have substituted for the purely municipal constitution of the Empire a strong and vital state organization. Then the Empire would have been a harmonious construction,

¹ Claudius in his discourse at Lyons, Maecenas in that which Dion attributes to him (lii. 19). From the fact that Maecenas certainly did not make this address, it does not follow that he had not the idea of opening the Senate and the equestrian order to the chief men of the provinces, the Roman citizenship to the subjects,—an idea which was in the tradition of Caesar's policy, and one of the necessities of the new government.

² If the Roman Senate had been composed of the most important persons of Rome, of Italy, and of the provinces, it would have had, like the English House of Lords, a power of its own and an important influence; whereas, like the French Chamber of Peers and the Senate of the First and Second Empire, it had only a borrowed influence, that the ruler and public opinion gave and withdrew as they chose.

capable, perhaps, of enduring for ages. For lack of a tie, all the cities remained isolated, indifferent to the general interests, and so, destitute of that related life which makes of a collection of atoms a systematic organism.

This idea, which Tacitus would have accepted, since he, like Cicero, desired a mixed government of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy,¹ was so practicable that what had not been done by the first Emperor at the opportune moment was attempted by later rulers when the favorable time had passed. By the famous edict of 418, repeated from a rescript of Gratianus in 382, Honorius ordered the magistrates and *curiales* (that is, the landowners) of Novempopulania and Aquitania to send deputies every year to the city of Arles to submit to the praetorian prefect of Gaul their views on matters of public importance; and some eminent scholars derive from this edict the origin of the states-general of Languedoc, which lasted until the time of the French Revolution.³ Probability and existing texts give us a right to assert that like orders were sent out to other provinces. Unhappily, in 418 the Barbarians had already penetrated into the Empire, and the inevitable dissolution had begun.



FAUN'S HEAD FOUND AT ARLES.²

¹ He wished it, but believed it difficult to maintain (*Ann.* iv. 33). This is the government which would have been established if Augustus had given to the provincial assemblies the right to deliberate independently upon the affairs of their province, and a share in filling the Senate and the great public offices.

² Museum of the Louvre.

³ Caseneuve, *États génér. du Lang.* p. 14; Hauteserre, *Rer. Aquit.* iv. chap. ii.; dom Vaissette, *Hist. du Languedoc*, vol. i., proofs; Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule mérid.* i. 148.

Where would be to-day the Roman Catholic organization without the provincial synods, which have been the bond connecting the individual churches; without the general councils, which have introduced order among the religious provinces; without the œcumenical councils, which have made the unity of the universal church, and secured to the pontifical monarchy fifteen centuries of existence? And these synods copied the provincial assemblies of the Empire, as the churches at first imitated the *collegia* of the cities, with their free elections, their monthly assessments, and their common cemeteries.

The evil of the Roman Empire was the preponderance of the military order; it was necessary to balance this by constituting a vigorous civil order out of the elements which existed everywhere, and were as natural as they were needful to the various populations. Why could not that which was so useful in the church have served the state as well? But Augustus desired noisy manifestations of devotion to the imperial house, and he did not think it any misfortune that the governors should be somewhat held in check by their subjects. He feared, moreover, the formation of a provincial spirit, which he considered an embarrassment; whereas he might have made of it a support. His successors followed the same course. They dreaded these assemblies; and to refuse them all share in political affairs was a maxim of government which Dion, in the third century, expresses thus: "The subject peoples are to be masters of nothing; they are never to meet in public assemblies, for they would have no good ideas and would incessantly excite disturbances."¹ With such suspicions as these, strong states cannot be made. And so the Roman colossus was broken by enemies whom Cæsar's legionaries would have been able to scourge from the battlefield.

We note as worthy of remark that the two greatest nations of antiquity, the Greeks and the Romans, suffered from the same evil,—in Greece, the division of the territory into a crowd of cities, regarding each other as foreigners or enemies; in the Empire, the isolation of municipalities under the absolute authority of the Emperor. In the last hour of their existence both had recourse to the same remedy to save themselves, attempting to

¹ Dion, lii. 30.

constitute a state at last, the one by federations, the other by a sort of representative government.¹ They were unsuccessful; but who can tell what might have happened for the former if Philip of Macedon had found before him the Achaian League extended over all Greece, and for the latter if, four centuries and a half before Honorius, Augustus had sanctioned an institution which was then alive in all hearts and all minds.

In respect to the recruiting of the senatorial and equestrian orders and of the public service from the provincials, this idea of Caesar, which Augustus rejected, became to himself and his successors a necessity, to fill the gaps that the carelessness of families and the cruelty of the Emperors made in the ranks of the nobility. Tacitus shows us, under Tiberius, many new men in the Senate;³ Caligula, according to Dion,⁴ filled up the equestrian



BRONZE VICTORY FOUND AT LYONS.²

¹ See the author's *Greek History*, ii. 409, where the eighth period of that history commences (272-146 B. C.), entitled: *Efforts impuissants pour s'unir et se sauver* [and also Freeman's *History of Federal Government*, vol. i. *passim*. — Ed.].

² Museum at Lyons. Figurine, twenty-two centimetres in height, found in 1866, whose pose and proportions recall those of a statuette of Victory surmounting a *vexillum* of the Column of Trajan. M. Martin-Daussigny concludes from this (*Gazette archéol.* 1876, pp. 112-114) that the Victory here represented was the decoration of a Roman standard. It has also been supposed that it was a fragment of a small bronze copy of the altar of Augustus at Lyons. Cf. above, p. 169.

³ *Novi homines e municipiis, coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crebro assumpti* (*Ann.* iii. 55, *ad annum* 22).

⁴ *lix.* 9.

order from the noblest and richest of the provincials, and granted to many of them the *laticlave*; lastly, we know from the discourse at Lyons that Claudius was disposed to make this idea the principle of his administration. But this recruiting, to which later Rome owed some of her best rulers, was not the result of a general plan of government; executed at random and as a matter of personal favor, it had not the advantages of an organization, which would have bound the provinces together, and, by adjusting them, utilized all existing forces, — that is to say, all the influences of birth and environment, of intelligence and fortune.

In truth the Emperor designed, like the Senate of earlier times, to govern the world by means of Rome. Everything was concentrated in the capital and emanated thence; there beat the heart of the Empire: but it beat too rapidly. Accordingly, it is on the banks of the Tiber that we find the first instance of those famous cities which, attracting to themselves all the vitality of the country, are subject to periodical disorders. Augustus, who could not guard by strong institutions this centre of Roman political life, covered it at least with a fine exterior of order.

We have already spoken of his scrupulous rules for assigning to each man his place and keeping him there. This watch over social conditions, these encouragements given to vanity by distinctions at the disposal of the ruler, were of the purest monarchical spirit. But Augustus should have taken one step farther, and established the hierarchy of civil functions as he rendered permanent the hierarchy of military functions. The republican constitution admitted neither the one nor the other; for in civil life it knew no subordinated powers, and for military life admitted them only as temporary. Each magistrate in the Republic was independent and sovereign, excepting only his responsibility to the people. Military grades were valid only for the campaign; the man to-day a consul and receiving a triumph, to-morrow served as legionary tribune. A subordination of powers is, on the contrary, one of the conditions of royalty. Augustus had a vague consciousness of this, not a well-defined view; and although we find in his regulations the germ of the *hierarchia*, “the sacred sovereignty” of Constantine and of his successors, who made the maintenance of ranks and classes the principal object of the state,

we may still say that the first Emperor did not give to his monarchy the administrative organization necessary to that form of government. Free institutions, that is to say, the soul, being lacking to the social body, it was necessary, in order to maintain it, to wrap it about with a multiplicity of cords, all gathered in the ruler's hands.

To retain and defend this vast dominion, then, which was subject later on to such furious attacks, Augustus had to choose between two systems, — either, on the one hand, free institutions in the cities, provinces, and states, which would have connected the lower classes with the higher in a genuine and vital union; or, on the other, a carefully organized monarchy, in which the ruler's agents were everywhere present, and union was created between high and low by administrative ties. He attempted neither the one nor the other; preserved, while ameliorating it, the system which conquest had produced; and contented himself with giving a head to the state and a master to the proconsuls. The pillage of the provinces was arrested, but the strength and duration of the Empire were not provided for.

In another way the subjects of the Roman Empire might have been called upon to unite their sentiments and interests. To Greek and Roman minds, the defence of the country was the citizen's first duty. By imposing this obligation upon the provincials, and causing their youth to pass regularly through the discipline of the camps, Augustus would have endowed his empire with a military organization which would have preserved soldierly qualities among the people, and would have brought together the different races and nationalities. He did indeed create a standing army; but later we shall see what the results were of this institution, which, disarming eighty million men, took away from them the necessity of self-defence. To continue in our present line of thought, we will only say that general assemblies would have kept political life alive; that a provincial militia would have prevented the loss of the military spirit; and, finally, that the two institutions united would have given birth to patriotism, which is the honor of prosperous times and the resource in times of misfortune.

If it be objected that there could be no organization capable of making the Copts on the banks of the Nile and the Gauls

on the shores of the Seine lead the same life, we shall say further that it may indeed be true that these institutions would not have saved the Empire, but they would at least have hastened the formation of the great modern nations; and that these latter, organized, armed, and disciplined, would have become strong enough separately to resist invasion.

We look to see what there was that could serve as a bond of union among the different Roman nations. We find that the Latin language was destined to spread through the West,¹ the Greek through the East, and the Roman law everywhere. But this law regulates only individual, family, or municipal questions; and these two languages, useful instruments of traffic, will not serve for the expression of those fraternal sentiments which compose the greatest of social forces, patriotism.

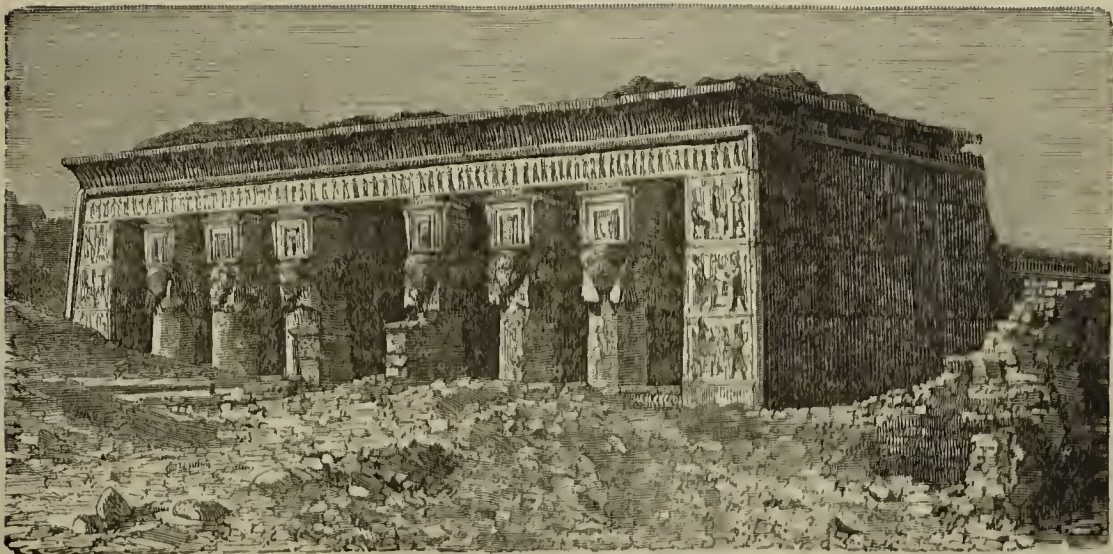
Among the ancients the city formed the citizen by the traditions piously preserved around the domestic hearth or constantly revived in the agora or the forum, in the rites of religion or in popular songs, by eloquence, poetry, and art. But to so many different nationalities, separated by history, by religion, and for a long time yet by language, what instruction could be given by the priests of the Empire and its philosophers, its artists and poets, its statesmen and men of letters?

That which institutions did not do, was it to be done by education? The pagan religions were without influence upon the moral direction of life, because the question of good and ill desert had no place in the midst of these religious conceptions, where the gods were considered only as the personification of the brute forces of nature. The priests would have been obliged to turn these beliefs to the edification of the worshippers if the pagan cult had admitted preaching; but in the temple the priests only performed rites, they did not teach. The duty thus abandoned by them had been taken up by the poets and philosophers, — by the former often with great danger to morals, and by the latter with great danger to the gods. Their books, more suited to destroy

¹ The Latin spread also in the East, and more widely than is commonly supposed. There has been found in Nicomedia a Latin inscription of the year 2 B. C. From the second century of the Christian era, at many points, — Ancyra, for example, — there are found as many Latin as Greek inscriptions, and in the list of municipal officers at Cyzicus the Latin names are at least as numerous as the Greek (G. Perrot, *Galatie*, pp. 6 and 75).

than to build up, to separate than to unite, were, however, the only books of education known to this society.¹

In ancient Greece the popular songs, the great national epics, the poems of Hesiod, Tyrtæus, and Pindar, which were in every mouth, and in the Middle Ages the legends of the saints, the *chansons de geste*, even the *fabliaux*, were an education to the crowd. In modern times the school, the book, the newspaper, the pulpit, the platform, all influence education and form public opinion. Imperial Rome had nothing of this kind. Literature and philosophy, being addressed only to the refined, remained without effect upon the multitude.



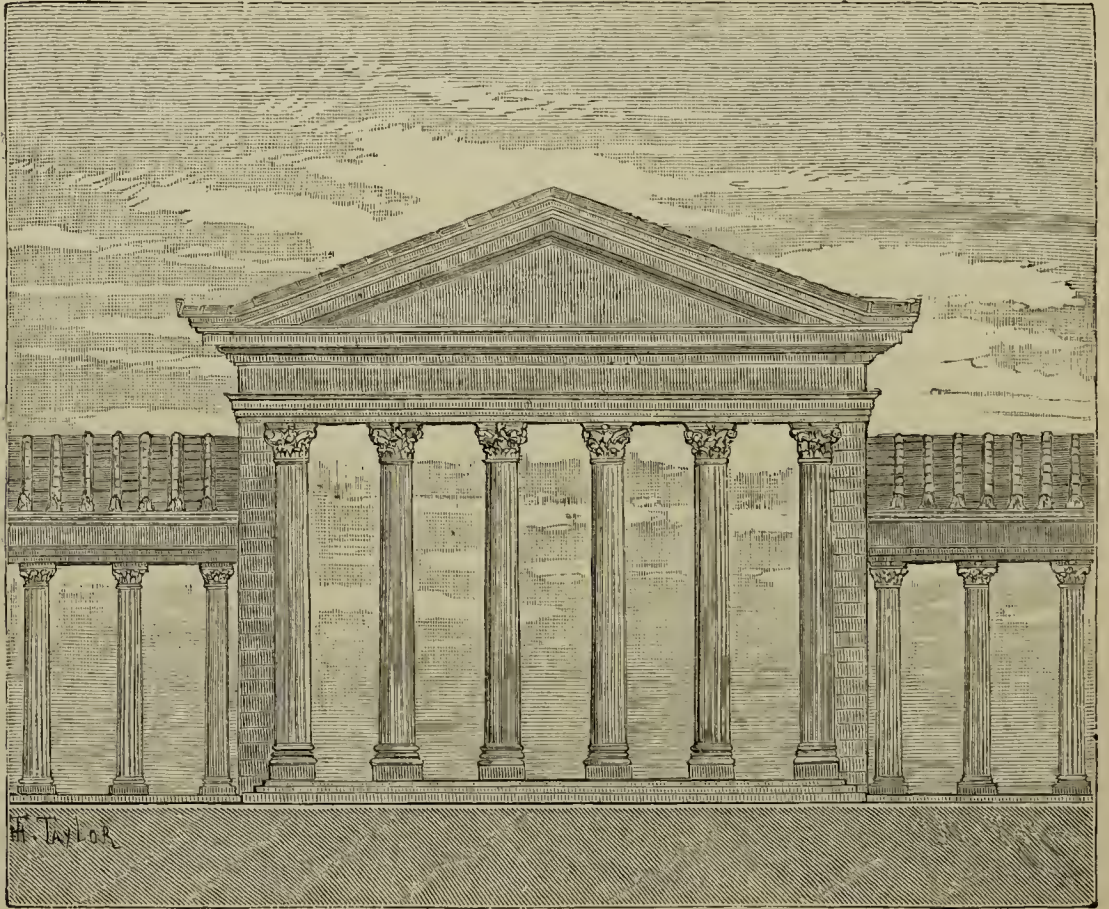
AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE (DENDERAH).

Nor had art greater influence; like literature, it was but an affair of elegance and amusement. An Egyptian temple, covered all over with inscriptions and sculptures, historic or religious, spoke to the eyes and to the soul; and in presence of these sanctuaries of religion and patriotism, the inhabitants felt themselves a nation. A Christian church, with its Biblical narratives

¹ The boy was removed from the women at about the age of seven; till twelve or fourteen he followed the instruction of a grammarian, and his school-books were the classic poets. From the school of the grammarian he passed to that of the rhetorician, who taught him the art of discourse; after this he attached himself to some philosopher, who made him acquainted with the system in vogue and with what he needed to know for public life. These schools were private and absolutely free enterprises; under the Empire there were professors of higher instruction, paid by the state and by the cities. The towns had also primary public schools. See below, chap. lxxxiii. sec. 4.

painted upon the windows, carved upon the portals and on the capitals of the columns and the chancel walls, was a great book, understood of all, even the ignorant, in which all men read that they were brothers. What did the baths of Agrippa, the portico of Octavia, the Julian basilica, the amphitheatre of Taurus, say to the crowd? What could the Pans and Satyrs say, the suicide Antinous, and all the seductive goddesses?

Among these nationalities there was nothing in common save



OCTAVIA'S PORTICO (DETAILS BY REYNAUD).

the necessity of obedience and the utility of peace. This was enough for existence, so long as peril was far away; it was not enough for living a strong and glorious life. Augustus seems to have understood that, without any moral tie, the thousand cities which his Empire contained, must remain divided; and he made an effort to unite them by giving them two new divinities, Rome and the Emperor. At the same time, by his poets and historians, by his discourses and edicts, he proposed to their



ANTINOUS OF THE BELVIDERE, FOUND UPON THE ESQUILINE.



imitation the superannuated ideal of the old Roman state, — that aristocracy, now crowned with a king, with its manners and customs of a Latin municipium, and its narrow spirit of the ancient conquering city. He succeeded only in maintaining a sterile pride among the inhabitants of Rome, and in awakening in some of them the republican spirit of the preceding century; but he was never able to create in the hearts of the provincials the general sentiment of a common country.

Under the Republic this people and this soul had existed. The cry, *Civis Romanus sum*, was a formidable appeal to the justice of earth and heaven. Under the Empire no man dreamed of uttering this supreme protest; for though there were indeed many Roman citizens — that is to say, privileged persons — scattered throughout the provinces, there was no Roman nation, and therefore no patriotism towards the Empire. The official religion which Augustus created was not capable of forming one; for to the altars of Rome and the Emperor the people came only to attest their absolute resignation.

Freed from all care of public affairs, since one man thought and acted for all, each lived an isolated life, seeking his ease and his pleasures, and regarding any social duty as a burden. There were no more intrigues, no more tumults: the Forum was quiet; but towards the close of his reign Augustus found difficulty in obtaining candidates to fill the magistracies. He was obliged to use constraint to keep his Senate full and to obtain the presence of the senators in the house. No one wanted to be aedile or tribune; but neither did any man want to take arms, even when Italy and Rome trembled at news of the disaster of Varus. Everything crumbles away in free states that lose their liberty; the military spirit and the political disappear together. There are no soldiers because there are no citizens; and citizens have ceased to exist because one man is all, both law and country.¹

¹ "There was no one found desirous of entering the Senate, even the sons or descendants of senators; but he constrained (κατηνάγκασε) those who had the property qualification to become senators" (Dion, liv. 26). "As none of those who were of age to bear arms were willing to be enrolled (μηδείς . . . καταλεχθῆναι ἡθέλησεν), he caused lots to be drawn; and those upon whom the lot fell, one in five of those under thirty-five years of age, and one in ten of those older, were despoiled of their possessions and branded with infamy. Many refusing still to obey, a number of them were punished with death. Also, by lot, he enrolled as

III. — CONSEQUENCES OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF AUGUSTUS.

WE have found in the establishment of the Empire many gaps through which the strength and life escaped from this vast body; one more inquiry remains to be made, — namely, into the consequences of the institutions of Augustus.

By establishing the rigorous classifications of which we have spoken, by introducing a kind of heredity into the Senate and the army, by rendering very narrow the gate which led to public honors and suffering no man to pass through it except those whom he himself designated to the electors (*candidati Caesaris*), and, lastly, by concentrating the government within that space of a few square feet where he deliberated with his council, Augustus deprived himself of the means of finding men. The characteristic of republics, or at least of free institutions, is to produce them, — when liberty has not become license, and the lower class is not the dominant class, — since then all things are open to all men, and talent takes its own place. The characteristic of courts is to make courtiers, who by degrees fetter the prince with a thousand invisible threads, whatever may be his strength and his will, who hinder him from looking outside of his surroundings and making advances to the men of real worth who must and will wait to be sought out. A Mæcenas and an Agrippa may be found under an Augustus, a Sully under a Henry IV., a Colbert under a Louis XIV.; but the prætorian prefect whom Nero appointed was Tigellinus, and Louis XV. made Soubise a marshal of France. The favorites of the Emperor become the masters of the Empire.

It is true that Augustus, in establishing at Rome an aristocracy

many veterans and freedmen as possible" (*Ibid.*, lvi. 23). Another time Augustus caused to be sold the person and property of a Roman knight who had cut off the thumbs of his two sons (*pollex truncatus*, whence our word *poltroon*), that he might exempt them from military service (Suet., *Octav.* 24). Under Tiberius no man was willing to accept the office of governor of a province. Thus Lepidus and Blaesus refuse the African præconsulship (*Tac., Ann.* iii. 35). Lamia will not go into Syria, of which he has been appointed governor (*Ann.* vi. 27); and Claudius is obliged to decree that all governors shall be gone from Rome by the middle of April (*Dion.* lx. 17). This Emperor, having as censor expelled a number of senators, most of the persons expelled considered it a good fortune (*διὰ περὶ τῶν*). Another, wishing to retire to Carthage, was compelled to remain (*Ibid.*, lx. 28).

of wealth, which the other cities made haste to imitate,¹ believed that he had found a principle of conservation for his government and a method of recruiting his officials. But the Republic did not ask of Cincinnatus or Fabricius the amount of their property before making them senators; Fabius Buteo did not concern himself to know whether the senatorial census was lacking or not to the citizens honored with civic crowns whom after the battle of Cannae he enrolled among the Conscrip't Fathers; and Caesar, in giving the laticlave to certain centurions, regarded their services, and not their fortunes. Augustus, more exacting, required twelve hundred thousand sesterces for senators, and four hundred thousand for knights; it was the means by which he made part of them his pensioners. And besides, since the Senate no longer possessed authority, it was essential to give it something else wherewith to dazzle the eyes of the crowd. But an aristocracy of wealth never becomes a political body subsisting by itself, except in a commercial and manufacturing state, where the worth of gold is known, and those are honored who have honestly gained it. At Rome fortune was not the product of free and honest labor. It was often derived from the worst sources, — usury, legacy hunting, foul trades, mendicancy at court. In the first rows of the amphitheatre, whence the honest poor man was driven, Juvenal saw enriched barbers and sons of gladiators, public criers, men of infamous trades, — who with gold picked out of the mud had bought the right to sit among the equestrian order.²

And so, in the very presence of Augustus, the son of a freedman does not hesitate to scoff at this mock nobility. "If you lack six or seven thousand sesterces of the equestrian census," says Horace, "you are of the common herd, although you may have courage, character, eloquence; . . . and yet the children in their games say, 'Do well, and thou shalt be king.' . . . This is what the Curii and the Camilli also say, those men of masculine

¹ Pliny is well aware that the whole imperial constitution rested on an aristocracy of wealth; after extolling the ancient times, he says: *Posteris . . . rerum amplitudo damno fuit: postquam senator censu legi coeptus, iudex fieri censu, magistratum ducemque nil magis exornare quam census* (*Hist. Nat.* xiv. 1). This judgment is expressly confirmed by Dion (liv. 17). See above, p. 109.

² Martial, *Epigr.* vii. 64, and Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 153. *Curia pauperibus clausa est; dat census honores* (Ovid, *Amor.* III. viii. 55). Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiv. 1.

courage. . . . To-day old and young alike cry, 'First, let us seek for fortune; virtue is of no importance. Hail to wealth!' To

AUGUSTUS SEATED.¹

whom the Syrian slave makes answer, 'Fortune! but she is wont to stultify him upon whom she lavishes her favors!'"

And, finally, for wealth to give the man who possesses it

¹ Museum of Naples.

dignity and independence, — for it to become a force, that is to say, — its security is indispensable; but by the law concerning treason, the threat of confiscation hung over all men's heads.

In the most conspicuous place appeared the Senate. Augustus seemed to give everything up to it, — the appointment to the higher magistracies, the legislative power, and the judicial authority. But we have seen that in reality he retained everything in his own hands, and that this almost sovereign assembly was entirely at his discretion; so that it could give neither independence to the judge, nor freedom to the legislator. Hence the Senate of the Empire was neither a force for the ruler, nor a safeguard for the citizens; and in obtaining criminal jurisdiction this enslaved political body was also, under bad Emperors, an unjust tribunal, so that this most docile of instruments, becoming the surest agent of tyranny, placed the property and lives of all men at the mercy of the sovereign's passions, and even caprices. This assembly, to which Augustus committed the power that he seemed unwilling himself to take, was an artificial creation; whereas, had it been constituted in accordance with the ideas to which we have referred in the preceding section, it would have been a body endowed with life, — of weight enough to preserve the balance of power in the state, and of force enough to support the ruler and to restrain him. It remained, however, the shadow of a great name, *stat magni nominis umbra*; and Augustus, well as he knew the powerlessness of these men whom he loaded with honors to conceal their disgrace, took from them, in order that they might be always under his eye and hand, a liberty which the meanest citizen possessed, — no senator could go outside of the limits of Italy without special leave of absence from the Emperor.¹

We have said nothing of the people, and for the reason that they were now absolutely of no importance, never, even through riots, becoming of consequence.² The populace of Rome had passed through three historic stages, which may be designated by these three words, — the plebeians, the poor, the proletarii. By dint of

¹ This prohibition was still in force in the time of Dion (lii. 42).

² However, even in the third century, according to Ulpian and Gaius, the foundation of the imperial power was still the legal fiction of the popular consent: . . . *Quod populus ei et in eum omnem suam potestatem conferat.*

constancy and the true political spirit, the plebeians had conquered political, civil, and religious equality; their triumph marks the epoch of Rome's robust youth and highest fortune. The poor struggled against the rich, as in our time labor is arrayed against capital; this was the epoch of the civil wars, in which liberty perished. The proletarii, destitute of honor and patriotism, had nothing left but the mere bodily appetites.¹ Their predecessors, the conquerors of Italy and of the world, had asked for rights, and then for lands; these men asked only to be fed, amused, and pensioned. They cared not if the electoral comitia were a laughing-stock and the legislative comitia an empty show, and if the *quaestiones perpetuae*, the praefect of the city, the Senate, and the Emperor had taken from them their early judicial power. All that they now desired Augustus gave them,—to wit, bread, money, games, feasts, baths, porticos; and this sufficed them.

The Roman people had ended in becoming the proletariat and the soldiery, two different forms of the same social condition. Augustus, who really established these two classes, by making the distributions of corn an institution at Rome and by separating the army from the people, did not foresee that to give the imperial power its origin in the consent of the people and to place its sole defence in the legions with no other intermediate institutions except a servile Senate, was to place underneath the social edifice a blind and violent force, which would forever render it unstable, and would perpetually make and unmake Emperors.

“In human governments there are only two powers of control, the power of arms and the power of laws. If the latter is not supported by a judicial body without fear and without reproach, the former must prevail, and thus lead to the triumph of military over civil institutions.”² Now the Empire had not, and, let us recognize the fact; could not have, with the ideas that then prevailed, a judicial body “without fear and without reproach.” Justice, confused with the administrative power, remained in the Emperor's hands; hence the numerous condemnations, which were mere odious means of vengeance or of spoliation.

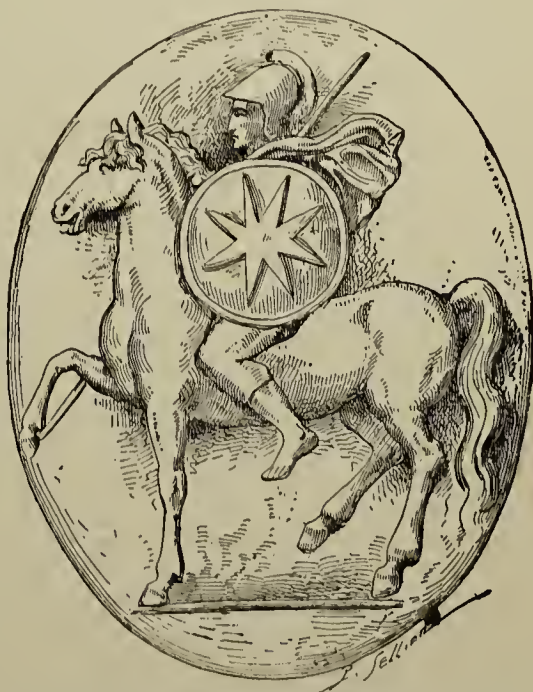
¹ *Vulgus . . . cui una ex re publica annonae cura* (Tac., *Hist.* iv. 38).

² See Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution*, n. 1612, and the excellent book of M. G. Picot, *La Réforme judiciaire en France*, p. 366, and Appendix ix. 1881.

We come now to the real creation of Augustus, the standing army. In other respects he had imitated Caesar by concentrating in his own hands, as the latter had done, all the powers of the Republic. Augustus excepted the dictatorship, but he really assumed it in the popular form of the tribunitian authority. The standing army was his own work; and this military institution, which took away the need of civil institutions, gave the Empire its true character and determined its destiny.

Military institutions are, so to speak, the *résumé* of a people's civilization, and the formation of a great army foretells the formation of a great empire. Greece triumphed over the Asiatic hordes with her citizen soldiers, and her victory gave us the Age of Pericles. But the divided Greeks could not resist the Macedonian phalanx, so compactly made, and its companion cavalry, which conquered Asia and gave us Alexander. In its turn this heavy mass was cleft, and fell under the bold and alert attack of the legion, — the most finished engine of war known to antiquity; and Rome ruled from the Thames to the Euphrates. In modern times the infantry of Turenne and Condé and of the Republic made the power of Louis XIV. and of Napoleon, as the skilful organization of Prussia, with its whole nation under arms and disciplined, was the cause of the recent misfortunes of France; since that nation had not in time replaced a worn-out system by a new one. Augustus had the art of comprehending what the times required. The soldier-people of the Republic, with its legions levied yearly, had conquered; he formed a standing army to maintain the Empire.

The manner in which he organized it is well understood, — about three hundred thousand men, divided into twenty-five



SOLDIER ON HORSEBACK, WEARING THE HELMET AND CARRYING THE SPEAR AND A BUCKLER, ORNAMENTED WITH A STAR.¹

¹ From an engraved stone (La Chausse, *Racc. di Gem. Ant.* vol. ii. pl. 135).

legions and the auxiliary cohorts, were posted along the frontiers of the Empire. This was well; but these soldiers were legally retained twenty years under the standards in active service, and often as veterans for their whole lives. An orator of the Pannonian legions complains in their name that they are kept in the service thirty and forty years. Others, on occasion of some disturbance, exhibit their white hair;¹ and Civilis, to decide the Batavians to attack the camps, tells them they will find there only *senes*, old men. The sum given to the veterans — five thousand denarii to the praetorians, three thousand to the legionaries — clearly proves that but a very small number of soldiers were thus dismissed annually.² Very few of these veterans ever saw their native city again. The successors of Augustus often retained them under the standards till their death,³ or gave them, instead of money, lands along the line of the frontiers, for the purpose of establishing there a Roman and military population.⁴

From this organization it resulted that the soldiers, bound almost for their entire lives to a trade, — not, as formerly, for

¹ *Canitiem exprobantes* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 18). In the year 23 Tiberius shows the legions almost uniformly composed of veterans, — *multitudinem veteranorum* (*Ann.* iv. 4; *Hist.* iv. 14). He himself contributed to this: *Missiones veteranorum rarissimas fecit, ex senio mortem, ex morte compendium captans* (Suet., *Tib.* 48). In the *Mon. Anc.*, No. 17, Augustus says that he gave rewards . . . *militibus qui vicena plurave stipendia emeruissent*.

² The normal veteran standing would have removed from the ranks every year one twentieth of the legionaries, or 15,000 men; and one sixteenth of the praetorians, or 740 men. Now $15,000 \times 3,000 = 45,000,000$; and $740 \times 5,000 = 3,700,000$; a total of 48,700,000 denarii, which must have seemed a very large sum to the Emperors, and which they sought to reduce by limiting the number of dismissals (cf. Suet., *Tib.* 48). The annual pay of the legions was nearly \$10,000,000; to this must be added the expense of the auxiliary cohorts, the higher pay of the under-officers, centurions, tribunes, and legates, the expenses for the fleets, for engines of war, for corn furnished gratuitously, and, lastly, for the rewards to veteran standing. I do not speak of the *donativa*, an old republican custom which the Empire could not repudiate, which was the due every time the ruler was proclaimed *imperator*, whether on the day of his accession, or upon every victory of his lieutenants. Márquardt (*Staatsverf.* ii. 94) estimates the annual expense for provisions, arms, and clothing furnished gratuitously by the state at nearly 40,000,000 denarii. It is quite probable that the military expenses of the Empire were not less than \$40,000,000.

³ In this case the veterans remaining in camp were exempt from all service save when the enemy attacked (Suidas, *s. v.* Βετεράνος). The *evocati*, or veterans recalled to service, wore a vine-branch like the centurions (Dion, *lv.* 24). Domitian granted the privileges of the veteran standing, that is to say, the *jus civitatis et connubii*, to auxiliaries who had served twenty-five years, at the same time keeping them under the standards (L. Renier, *Dipl. Milit.* p. 220).

⁴ Octavius did not think on the morrow of the battle of Actium of establishing his veterans upon the frontiers; and so it is said in the Monument of Ancyra that he sent three hundred thousand of them home to their towns, or established them upon lands that he had bought for them.

a few years to a civic duty,—formed a distinct people in the Empire, with manners, ideas, wants, and immunities peculiar to themselves,¹ while citizens and provincials regarded the military life with disgust, and a time came when they even fled into deserts rather than be enrolled in a legion. The duration of service being so long, less than twenty-five thousand recruits yearly were enough to keep the army full,—a levy imperceptible in a population of eighty million souls; and this levy was easily made, without disturbing the citizens in their indolence, either by taking, as Vegetius says, worthless fellows unfit for domestic service, or by accepting those restless and turbulent men who prefer the hazards of a life in camps to the duties of civil life, and seek the peril of battle for the sake of pillage or adventure.² But these merce-

¹ For instance, the *castrense peculium*, establishing for the first time to the son a property of which the father could not dispose.

² *Plerumque voluntario milite numeri suppleuntur* (*Digest*, xlix., tit. 16, leg. 4, sec. 10), according to Arrius Menander, who seems to have lived near the close of the second century. A little later Dion Cassius made of this practice a settled principle of the government. "It is necessary," he makes Maecenas say, "to disarm the citizens and remove them from the strong places, and to enroll the more indigent, those whom poverty would constrain to live by plunder" (lii. 27). Later Vegetius (i. 7) says: "All our misfortunes come from the negligence or the cowardice of the commissioners, who make soldiers of wretches whom private individuals would scorn as lackeys." This evil, however, was of long standing; for as early as the year 23 A. D. Tiberius explains to the Senate that volunteers of good character are lacking, and hence even vagabonds must be accepted (*Tac.*, *Ann.* iv. 4: *Voluntarium militem deesse; ac, si suppeditet, non eadem virtute ac modestia agere, quia plerumque inopes ac vagi sponte militiam sumant*). The legions remaining encamped along the frontiers, their auxiliaries were recruited chiefly among the neighboring populations, who along the Rhine, the Danube, and the Atlas were real Barbarians. Now many of these Barbarians passed into the legions, obtaining the title of citizens, of which the character went on altering more and more at each generation. We shall see in chapter lxxvii. what the legionaries of Vitellius and Vespasian had come to be, . . . *truces corpore, horridi sermone*, and how they conducted themselves at the sack of Cremona and of Rome. "Most of the soldiers of Vitellius," says Otho, "are Germans" (*Hist.* i. 84); and Tacitus shows us entire cohorts of Germans attacking Placentia . . . *cantu truci, et more patrio nudis corporibus* (*ibid.* ii. 22). Lastly, Suetonius, in the council of war held by Otho, advises to prolong the war for the reason that the Germans of Vitellius could not support the heats of summer (*ibid.* 32); and later, Antonius recommends that the campaign be hastened, in order that time should not be left for the enemy to call in fresh troops from Germany, — *Germaniam unde vires* (*ibid.* iii. 2). At Cremona the third legion, which comes from Syria, worships the rising sun, — a proof that it is composed of Syrians. One of the causes of the insurrection of the Syrian legions against Vitellius was the rumor that he proposed to send them to the shores of the Rhine and replace them by the army of Germany: *Quippe et provinciales sueto militum contubernio gaudebant, plerique necessitudinibus et propinquitatibus mixti* (*ibid.* ii. 80). We find also, it is true, a great number of cohorts who seem to have been levied in different provinces: thus the inscriptions show Spaniards in Switzerland, Swiss in Britain, Pannonians in Africa, Illyrians in Armenia, etc.; but these cohorts were afterwards recruited in the regions where they were encamped. See Henzen, *Sugli equiti singolari*.

naries and these lackeys carried into the armies very different sentiments from those of honor and patriotism. This was manifested by the insurrections which broke out immediately after the death of Augustus. Besides this, the monarchical principle was introduced into the army; that is to say, favoritism, and a sort of hereditary succession: officers of good family had the precedence over those who were merely soldiers of fortune.¹

Thus Augustus put a stop to that flux and reflux of the current which had been wont to carry into the camp, and then bring back again into the city, a part of the population, whose souls gained in manly temper by these alternations of discipline and liberty.

In making the military service a profession, he separated the soldiers from the citizens and formed two nations within the Empire; one which he had disarmed, becoming feeble, timid, and base; the other becoming strong and insolent, if not always against the enemy, at least against the Emperor.

Doubtless with these three hundred thousand soldiers the ruler commanded obedience and secured internal order, — with the disadvantage, however, of being obliged to be always on his guard against military outbreaks and barrack revolutions. But military life being at an end for populations once so warlike, the citizens soon unlearned the use of arms, and lost the accompanying virtues, — a respect for discipline, the feeling of duty, and the spirit of self-sacrifice. No longer interested in the defence of the country, they lost the mutual tie of a common glory and danger, and remained in their municipal isolation entirely concerned with cares for their own individual well-being.

And so, when the days of disaster came, and the Barbarians broke through the slender line of the *castra stativa*, they were confronted with no more formidable enemy than a base and cowardly multitude who trembled at the sight of a sword, as they had been wont to tremble in the presence of their Emperors. Less than three generations after Vercingetorix, the Gauls seemed to Tacitus to have utterly lost their courage.²

¹ See above, p. 107.

² *Imbelles*. In the year 21 (*Ann.* iii. 46). Many cities, however, retained arms and a police soldiery. See the author's *Mémoire* on the *Tribuni militum a populo*, in vol. xxix. of *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* and chap. lxxxiii. of the present work.

Whenever absolute power has sought to establish itself it has resumed the Roman principle of standing armies, disarming the citizens or leaving them unarmed; and this principle has destroyed as many empires as it has founded. It was a national militia which made the fortune of Greece and Rome, which saved Switzerland in her mountains, Holland upon her canals, the United States in their vast territory; and it was the standing army, separated from the rest of the nation, which, exalting the ambition or the confidence of its chief, caused Charles V. to die in solitude, Louis XIV. in sadness, and Napoleon in captivity.¹

The legionary tumults which disintegrated the Empire, and the success of the Barbarian invasion which overthrew it, were the consequences of the organization which Augustus gave to his military forces. This leads us to remark that all the institutions which he considered elements of order very quickly became elements of disturbance,—the legions in the provinces, the praetorians in the city, and the Senate in the curia, which was a permanent hotbed of conspiracies; that, finally, what had appeared to him as an absolute guaranty of security—the isolation of the cities and the disarming of the provincials—proved to be but a cause of weakness to the Empire.

IV.—VAIN EFFORTS TO RESTORE THE OLD CONDITION OF SOCIETY; THE RULE OF AUGUSTUS IS AN ABSOLUTE MONARCHY WITH A REPUBLICAN EXTERIOR.

WAS the Emperor more happily inspired when he attempted to restore the manners and beliefs of early days? Even at Rome he failed; and with much more reason in the Empire. There were many causes for this failure, among others the one which Davus gives to his master when he reproaches Horace with forever extolling the ancient times, and being incapable of imitating them.²

¹ Unfortunately for France, her late enemies were able to unite both principles,—the constitution of a regular army, which secured military science and discipline, and the arming of the entire country, which gave them numbers and strength.

² *Sat. II. vii.* The poet had already said (*Carm. iii. 24*): . . . *quid leges sine moribus vanae proficiunt?*

In order to reform morals, says Montesquieu, there must be morals to reform; and the friends and counsellors of Augustus, and Augustus himself, had none. He made no scruple of seducing Roman matrons,—an offence even at Rome of the gravest character; and if his edicts were very moral, nevertheless the farces and theatrical pieces in which he took delight were nothing but criminal amours and disgusting jokes. “Examine,” Ovid says to



ROMAN MATRON.²

him, “the expenses of your games; you will find many infamous things bought with good money.”¹ The most extolled work of Augustus — his laws *de adulteriis* and *de maritandis ordinibus* — was a great but useless effort. The laws did little good, since manners remained unchanged, and much harm, since they gave birth to the race of informers; and in authorizing the ruler to penetrate into private life, they furnished his successors with the means of striking down as adulterers those whom they could not indict as conspirators.

In the same way, before undertaking the impossible task of restoring life to a moribund religion, it is necessary at least to believe in it. But for a long time the enlightened class had ceased to have faith in the gods of Olympus.

More than a century before Augustus, Polybius had said: “That which has made the safety of Rome has been the exaggerated fear of the gods. . . . I cannot doubt that the legislator in thus acting

¹ *Trist.* ii. 509. Cf. Suet., *Octav.* 69, 71: *Ad vitiandas virgines promptior, quae sibi undique, etiam ab uxore, conquirentur.* Πολλαῖς γυναῖξιν ἐχρῆτο (Dion, liv. 16). This historian, who is very favorable to Augustus, says, in relation to the reforms of the ruler: “He did not disturb himself at the contradiction existing between his words and his conduct” (*Ibid.*). Cf. *Id.*, lvi. 43, and the story of Zonaras in reference to Athenodorus. When the Senate requested him to arrest, by severe regulations, the disorderly conduct of the women, it appeared mere pleasantry (Dion, liv. 16).

² From a bas-relief in the Louvre (Clarae, *Musée de Sculpture*, No. 407).

has sought to control the multitude. If states were composed solely of wise men, institutions of this kind could be dispensed with; but since the crowd is filled with ungovernable passions and blind frenzies, it has been necessary to restrain them by the fear of the unknown, with all its paraphernalia of alarming fictions." Fifty years later the pontifex maximus Scaevola regarded the popular religion as a tissue of follies,—useful follies, according to Strabo, and to be respected in the interests of government. Varro ex-

THEATRICAL SCENE.¹

presses the same ideas: "The state," he says, "is more ancient than the gods, as the painter exists before his picture, and the mason before the house."

Olympus was now, therefore, only a storehouse of bric-à-brac filled with costumes, figures, theatrical machines which still were alarming to women and children; and from which the statesman or the poet, according to the need of the moment, obtained the *burattino* necessary for the best effect of an ode or an oration.²

¹ From a bas-relief in the Farnese Collection.

² In the *Caesars* of Julian (c. 27), Silenus, reproaching Augustus for having given Olympus a "crowd of gods," calls him a "maker of dolls."

Hence there were no candidates for the sacerdotal offices, even for those formerly most gratifying to family pride. Augustus with difficulty recruited the college of vestals;¹ and, being unable or afraid to do anything with Claudius, made him an augur. He



THE NEPTUNE OF HERCULANEUM.³

himself was not devout, in spite of his devotions; it is remembered that he banished Neptune from the games of the circus because the sea-god had favored Sextus Pompeius; and in the days before he was an important person in the state, he had played with his friends at the twelve great gods of Olympus, omitting in the representation none of their scandalous adventures. "The gods in heaven veiled their faces not to look upon these scandalous adulteries."² I know not what Caesar would have done with the old religion, he who openly in the Senate denied the immortality of the soul, and whom no fatal omen announced by the priests ever turned

away from any enterprise.⁴ Augustus, after he became Emperor, believed, as so many others have done, that he could find a power, *instrumentum regni*, in these superstitions which he himself despised;

¹ Dion., iv. 22.

² Suet., Octav. 61.

³ Bronze statue whose antique pedestal is adorned with silver leaves (*Bronzes of Herculaneum*, p. 35).

⁴ *Nec religione quidam ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus unquam vel retardatus est* (Suet., Jul. Caes. 59).

and he essayed to strengthen the official religion by a feigned respect for it, in order to gain over the innumerable crowd who lived by it, as well as those who continued to take pleasure in it, — a vain hope, ever repeated and ever disappointed, for which, however, Augustus should not be too severely blamed, since at that hour, when there was not as yet a glimmer of light on the horizon, we cannot reproach him that he did not foresee the religious future of the world. This old cult, rejuvenated by sceptical poets;¹ these pious legends, which were now but old wives' fables, *aniles fabulae*, or magical incantations; these gods whose decayed images were regilded; all this religious rubbish furbished up; and the moral platitudes which the Emperor scattered throughout his decrees, his edicts, and his public addresses, for the purpose of concealing the decrepitude of a worn-out religion, — that worst of all decrepitudes, — this seemed well to him, and this sufficed his essentially Roman mind, which had neither depth nor brilliancy. Provided he could throw over the corrupt social condition a decent veil, it mattered little to him what was beneath.

Fifty years earlier the same mistake had been made by Sylla, whose attempt at restoration had been as futile as that of Augustus was to be. For now the days of Rome were ended and those of the world were beginning. Augustus had only a confused idea of this. Heir of a revolution, and having the duty by organizing it to make it successful, he looked back, and not forward. He had conquered the oligarchy, had caused himself to be appointed perpetual tribune, and he now essayed to found a new aristocracy. At an epoch when state necessity demanded an equality of rights, he established as a rule of the imperial government the separation of citizens and provincials into two peoples, to be kept scrupulously apart. On the eve of the day in which Christianity was to abolish all respect of persons, he made enfranchisements more difficult, and the concession of citizenship rarer. He was so short-sighted as to believe that, to save Rome and the Empire, it would be enough to

¹ Cf. Hor., *Sat.* I. v. 101–103:

. . . *Deos didici securum agere aevum,*
Nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id
Tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto.

Saint Augustine said with good reason: *Poetas Romanos nulli deorum pepercisse* (*De Civ. Dei*, ii. 12).

introduce order by the aid of old ideas and hypocritical institutions. He thus expended half a century of effort in endeavoring to revive the old Roman society, with its magistrates, its orders of citizens, its costumes, its religious festivals, at the same time depriving it of the principle of liberty, and imposing upon it a contrary and deadly principle, that of the absolute power of an irresponsible monarch.

From out the order of things founded by Augustus was evolved by degrees an idea till then unknown in the Roman world, — an idea which came to the surface again in the modern nations after the great shipwreck of the Middle Ages, namely, the state identified with the person of the ruler, the public functionaries regarded as his servants, the national treasure as his private fortune, the territory of the Empire as his estate. Some even went further, and called this man, whom they themselves had made so great, a god. We cannot cry out against this, for under another form we do the same with our “men of destiny.” Have we not lately seen the leader of an invasion take Heaven as the accomplice of his iniquities, and attest daily that he was fulfilling a mission “with the aid and by the grace of God”!

Octavius did not disdain the advantage to be derived from this base complaisance. At Rome he did not venture to take to himself, by his title of Augustus, more than a part of the respect granted to divine beings; but in the provinces, and especially in the East, where every idea assumes the religious form, he authorized his apotheosis, which permitted his successors to obtain the same in Rome itself.¹

Thus the first Emperor, to sanction an authority born of the civil wars, timidly attempted what the sacerdotal castes and absolute royalties did openly, namely, to take the gods for his accomplices. The Emperor of China is the Son of Heaven; Louis XIV. and James I. asserted that they were guided by divine inspiration. Likewise Augustus was more than mortal, and Olympus received him after his death.² His successors performed miracles, which

¹ Upon the true meaning of the word *divus* given to the Emperor consecrated after his death, see p. 182 and following pages.

² I will quote neither Ovid (*Fast.* i. 609, *Pont.* iv. 9, 105), nor Vergil (*Georg.* iii. 16), nor Horace (*Epist.* II. i. 15), nor Velleius Paterculus (ii. 91), and I pass over the marvels so

are gravely related by Suetonius and Tacitus. Vespasian healed maladies,¹ as kings in the mediæval period touched for epilepsy; Marcus Aurelius sent dreams which revealed the future; and the most sceptical of the Emperors was believed to restore sight to the blind.² Must we regard this as a huge and intentional trickery? We have shown how this cult was developed out of existing beliefs. Many doubtless sneered in secret, and sometimes openly, as Seneca, relating the grotesque arrival in Olympus of the divine Claudius. But the crowd, which is the same in all ages, takes delight in marvels, and the majority willingly accepted the new divinities; some because there always seems to be something divine in the great events which begin a new phase of humanity, others because paganism had degraded Olympus with so many vices that, in truth, after having brought the gods down so low, and having raised the chief of the Empire so high, it required no effort for men who worshipped fauns and satyrs to worship the master of twenty-five legions and of the world. Pliny sums up in a single sentence this faith, composed of impiety, baseness, and selfish gratitude: *Deus est*, he says, *juvare mortalem*, He is a god who makes himself the benefactor of men.

This new cult had serious legal consequences. The Emperor, being made *divus* after his death, must have been partly so during his lifetime. He will soon be considered the incarnation of reason and wisdom, the living law, *lex animata*;³ and the divine right of kings had its origin in this consent given to the apotheosis of Augustus.⁴

Thus, from the first, the Emperor allowed altars to be reared and worship to be paid to him as to a divinity. It was a rash

boldly told by Suetonius (*Octav.* 6, 94, 97). But here is a passage from Dion: *Δῶγοντος ὡς καὶ πλεῖόν τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὄν ἐπεκλήθη*. Vegetius is still more explicit: *Imperatori, cum Augusti nomen accepit, tanquam praesenti et corporali deo fidelis est praestanda devotio et impendendus pervigil famulatus*.

¹ Suet., *Vesp.* 7.

² Capitol., *Marc. Aur.* 18; and Spartian, *Had.* 23.

³ *Constitutio principis vim legis obtinet* (Gaius, i. 2, 5); . . . *quod principi placuit legis vigorem habet* (Inst., i. 2, § 6).

⁴ In the formation of this idea of divine right we must allow its share to the Hebrew custom of consecration, renewed by the Church for the kings of Europe. Priests and legists, who regard human affairs from different points of view, were brought, the former by biblical, the latter by Roman tradition, to say by the mouth of Bossuet, "O kings, you are gods!" and by that of the French Parliament, "*Si veut le roi, si veut la loi!*"

ambition, to impersonate God upon earth. A man should at least find out an aim towards which may be directed the activity of the people whose earthly Providence he has caused himself to be made; without which aim this people, if it be poor, languishes, like those Oriental races who for so many centuries spend their life in day dreams under the shadow of their palm trees; or, if it be rich, sinks into the enervating languor of prosperity, dragging out in the midst of corruption a life without honor and without strength. Rome was virtuous and valiant while the enemy prowled around Latium, and the threatening Hannibal showed clearly where duty lay. In those days there was faith towards the gods, respect towards rulers, and, together with liberty, there was discipline in all ranks, and devotion to their country. When the world was conquered and the Republic had perished, this people, who no longer had the care of their own defence nor the responsibility of their own affairs, interested themselves in nothing save in being amused; and Augustus employed his ingenuity and his wealth in making the Roman life a perpetual holiday. He had not created this situation, but he aggravated it. He suppressed political life among a people who had lost the religious, and could not as yet have the scientific, life. And with what did he fill all these great voids? With amusement only, — *panem et circenses*.

To sum up, the Empire was necessary and inevitable, but with the unity of command there should have been also a unity in the state; — a political unity, through general institutions having their roots in the cities and rising through the successive grades to the very head of the Empire; a military unity, through an organization which should interest each in the defence of all; and a moral unity, through a community of ideas and sentiments.

Augustus simplified this difficult problem; or, rather, he knew how neither to solve it nor even to see it. He established for himself a unity of command, and he believed that for his subjects a community of interests would suffice for safety. This selfish union he sought to produce by order, that is to say, by a vigilant police system. But what peace had done, war undid; and the interests hurt by palace revolutions, by the condition of the public finances, and by the invasions of Barbarians, did not defend

a government which, after having served them, ended by ruining them.

In the place of Augustus, Caesar perhaps would have fulfilled this task; and the result was worth the pains of a great effort, for had the Roman Empire been strongly organized it might have held at bay the Barbarians and civilized them, as it did the Spaniards and Gauls, and as, we have seen, Augustus undertook to do in the case of the Germanic tribes of the Rhine and Danube.

If from the ruler we turn to the person himself, it must be confessed it is impossible to love this man, who had no originality or enthusiasm, who wrote out in advance what he wished to say to his friends and even to his wife, and who by turns did well or ill as interest seemed to him to dictate; cruel in cold blood, element by calculation; the assassin of Cicero, the protector of Cinna; a Tartufe of piety, but without religion; affecting virtue, but himself vicious; the model, in fine, of a statesman, if statesmanship be the art of ruling men by terror and deceit. In their greatness Caesar and Alexander were lovable, Napoleon formidable; Augustus, commanding neither sympathy nor admiration, is not of their race, and must take his place far beneath them.

At the same time, he will remain a great figure in history. Why? Because he caused eighty millions of men to live in peace for forty-four years. "The human race," says Pliny, "decrees him the civic crown."¹ Even with this admission, our judgment of Augustus will still seem to some persons too severe, although it will be acknowledged that we have not adopted against him any of those evil reports which depend for authority upon anecdotes possibly spurious. Our excuse, if any we need, for a severe judgment of the first Emperor, lies in our conviction of the vast services which the Empire might have rendered to humanity. The two greatest things in the ancient world, Greece and Rome, perished,—the former by an abuse of local independence, the latter by absolutism,—two opposite, but equally disastrous solutions of

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 3. Velleius Paterculus sums up the consequences of the establishment of the Empire in these words: *Summota e Foro seditio, ambitio Campo, discordia Curia*. The younger Pliny says the same (iii. 20).

the political problem. Therefore we have sought to see whether there did not exist the elements of a third solution, one which might have saved the Empire, and with it the civilization of the old world, purified by philosophy and Christianity; for a better constituted Roman Empire, would have meant the Barbaric invasions expelled, the medieval period prevented, and, for the human race, ten centuries of light, perhaps of liberty, certainly of progress, instead of ten centuries of darkness and servitude, during which civilization stood still or retrograded.

¹ *Cabinet de France*, No. 196. Cameo on bluish chalcedony, thirty-two millimetres by twenty-four.



AUGUSTUS VEILED AND CROWNED WITH LAUREL.¹

NINTH PERIOD.

THE CAESARS AND THE FLAVII (14-96 A. D.), CONSPIRACIES AND CIVIL WARS.

TEN EMPERORS, OF WHOM SEVEN ARE ASSASSINATED.

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS TO THE DEATH OF DRUSUS (14-23).¹

I. — WISE BEGINNINGS OF TIBERIUS; GERMANICUS (14-19).

WE have seen in the preceding chapter what necessary materials were forgotten in the foundation of the Empire, and what faulty materials made part of the structure, so that, from the first, the edifice was insecure and fragile. After a reign of forty-four years, it was too late to reconstruct everything from the foundations up, and we shall not blame Tiberius or his successors that they did not undertake the task. They made it their law, on the contrary, to change nothing in the institutions of "the divine Augustus;" but added thereto, each according to his nature, Tiberius, a cold-blooded cruelty,—Caligula and Nero, a savage frenzy. We return now to the simple narrative of events,

¹ This chapter and the following were published by me in 1853, in the form of a Latin thesis; and I change them in no respect. The view I at that time held is the one tending to prevail in England, Germany, and Holland. Cf. Merivale (*History of the Romans under the Empire*, 1865); Stahr (*Tiberius*, 1863); Sievers (*Tiberius und Tacitus*, 1870); Karsten (*De Tæiti fide*, etc.); Beesly (*Tiberius*, 1878); Arnold (*The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, 1879). Freytag (*Tiberius und Tacitus*, 1870) and Hoeck (*Römische Geschichte*) even go much too far; the latter does not hesitate to say: "Wer die Reihe der Imperatores durch Jahrhundert verfolgt hat, und wem Hass und Gunst fern liegen, der muss Tiberius Principat den ehrenwerthesten zuzahlen" (vol. iii. p. 190).

and shall limit ourselves to depicting the vicissitudes of this government, which at each reign reflects the ruler's personal character, for the reason that the ruler is the sole power and nothing opposes his will, be it good or evil.

From the beautiful shores of Baiae, Naples, and Sorrento, we see on the horizon the island of Capri, a dark mass of almost inaccessible rocks rising steeply from the sea. Around it still hovers the memory of a terrible old man wasting in debauchery and cruel pleasures the remnant of a life already too long. Tiberius is forever at Capri; Tacitus has chained his image to the rock. But the isle and the tyrant mutually wrong each other. Capri, beloved of Augustus, was not so desolate a place,¹ and Tiberius was not always so infamous. This Plessis-les-Tours of the Roman Louis XI. sheltered not so much cruelty and vice as contempt for the human race; he had found them so vile!

To distinguish the good from the ill in the reign of Tiberius is almost a crime; to show that the contemporaries of this Emperor were no better than himself, and that there could result only fatal consequences from the situation which was created, — for the former, by their vices and their recollections, and for the latter, by his character and by the perils with which he was menaced, — would be to incur the reproach of attempting the rehabilitation of a tyrant. I do not propose, however, to move for a new trial of Tiberius: his condemnation is legitimate; but all the preambles to it are not so. I shall essay to determine those which history should keep.

Tacitus saw in Tiberius mainly the enemy of the Senate; we are bound to see the ruler, and to cease considering Rome as the

¹ Capri, which had belonged to Naples, was bought by Augustus in the year 29 B. C. (Dion, lii. 43), whence we infer that this Emperor had the intention of building a villa there. Behind its rampart of perpendicular cliffs Capri presents many beautiful sites, and is renowned for its climate. The narcissus blooms there in December, and all the year round the air is perfumed with the fragrance of aromatic plants. In reading Tacitus we must not forget what he himself says of the training in rhetoric given to the young Romans (*De Orat.* 35). The characteristic of the literature of this time is a forced and declamatory tone, which exaggerates all things, *ingentia verba*. Petronius also ridicules these athletes of the schools, who, when they make their *début* at the bar, seem to fall from another world, so much are they strangers to real life. In their declamations there were always pirates with chains in ambush on the shore, tyrants compelling children to murder their fathers, oracles claiming human victims, etc., etc. *Satyricon*, 2: *Nuper ventosa istaec et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit animosque juvenum et magna surgentes . . . adflavit*. In the time of Augustus we find Strabo complaining of the Oriental exaggeration that had gained ground in Rome.



CAPRI.

whole Empire, thus subordinating the interests of eighty millions of men to those of a class constantly protesting by plots against its own abdication of power. The Emperor and the Senate, the executive and the conspirators, palace intrigues and judicial murders, doubtless form a scene more dramatic and simpler; but, at the risk of some disorder, we must bring upon this narrow stage the people of the provinces.

Tiberius was of that ambitious Claudian family who had had twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, and as many triumphs. His mother's marriage and his own adoption by Augustus had brought him into the house of the Caesars. He had loved his brother with devotion.¹ To see the latter once more, he had travelled seventy leagues in a day; and bringing back the body of Drusus from the banks of the Rhine to Rome, he had walked on foot before the funeral train all the long road. Twenty years later he still was mindful of his brother, whose name he associated with his own upon a temple built with the spoils taken in his victories.² He separated from his first wife, to marry Julia, only upon the express command of Augustus; but his heart remained always with Vipsania. "One day when he accidentally met her," says his biographer, "his eyes filled with tears, and remained fixed upon her so long as she was in sight; and it was necessary to guard against Vipsania's appearing before him."³

At the age of nine he pronounced in public the eulogy of his father; Augustus had done this at the age of twelve. The Roman youth were trained to eloquence as much as to war: language was the weapon of peace, but we shall shortly see that sanguinary warfare was waged with it. While still a youth, Tiberius pleaded

¹ Suetonius (*Tib.* 50) says that he one day betrayed Drusus by showing to Augustus a letter of his brother's, *qua secum de cogendo ad restituendam libertatem Augusto agebat*. Is it needful for me to say that I no more believe in the republicanism of Drusus than in that of Agrippa and Germanicus? The same author accuses him of having been destitute of affection for his son; Nature and two authors — Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* xvii. 61) and Dion (lvii. 22) — say the contrary. Tacitus himself tells of the grief of Tiberius at the death of Drusus and of his son (*Ann.* iv. 8 and 15). The conspiracy against Tiberius subsisted against his memory (*Ann.* iv. 11 and 33).

² Suet. *Tib.* 20. Tacitus speaks of a friend whom the Emperor retained for thirty years, Lucilius, a senator, whose death afflicted Tiberius much: *omnium illi tristium cæterorumque socius* (*Ann.* iv. 15). He had other friends also, — the great jurist Nerva, and Flaccus, who was prefect of Egypt (Philo, *Adv. Flacc.*, *initio*).

³ Suet., *Tib.* 7.

before Augustus for King Archelaos, the city of Tralles, and the Thessalians; and in the Senate he interceded in behalf of



DRUSUS, BROTHER OF TIBERIUS.²

Thyatira, Laodiceia, and Chios, destroyed by an earthquake. His first words in public were thus consecrated to the defence of the provincials, and Augustus gave him the honorable mission of going to receive from the Parthians the restored standards of Crassus. All the duties intrusted to him by his adopted father were performed with energy and intelligence; at the time of the war with Maroboduus he saved the Empire from a dangerous crisis.¹ After the death of Agrippa no general could show more brilliant services. He had fought in

Spain and among the Alps, had been governor of Gaul, had given a king to Armenia, and conquered the Pannonians. "Nine times," he himself wrote, "I have been sent by Augustus across the Rhine." He had subdued the Germans, transported forty thousand Barbarians into Belgium, and reassured the Empire after the defeat of Varus. With the exception of the period of his stay in Rhodes, he had for thirty years been concerned in the most important affairs, and he entered upon the imperial power full of talents and experience.³



COIN OF TRALLES.⁴

Augustus, long prejudiced against him, ended by regarding him as the best support of the imperial power. "Adieu, my dear Tiberius," he wrote on one occasion; "may you have success of every kind! Farewell, my most dear and brave man and accomplished general!"

Such was the man who, upon the death of Augustus, assumed

¹ See p. 261 *sq.*

² Agate-onyx in two layers, 48 millim. by 36. Magnificent cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 213.

³ *Tantis rebus exercitus*, says Tacitus (*Ann.* iv. 11); *tantum rerum experientiam* (*ibid.* vi. 48). Nothing of what I say concerning Tiberius is taken from Vell. Patreculus or from Val. Maximus, but from Suetonius and Dion, who rarely spare him, and from Tacitus, his avowed enemy. Velleius, who served under him, shows his great military qualities.

⁴ ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ. ΠΥΘΙΑ: souvenir of the Pythian games.

the imperial power, at the age of fifty-six,¹ his passions cooled, his mind and experience in full maturity. We should add, however, that his morals were probably no better than those of the Roman nobility in general;² that his temper was surly,—*tristissimus hominum*, says Pliny; that his character was harsh and vindictive, his reluctance to shed blood as slight as was the case with all frequenters of the amphitheatre;³ that, finally, Augustus was many times obliged to moderate his zeal in punishing every word and act contrary to the new government. These characteristics and the danger of his position explain his reign in advance, which was the reverse of his predecessor's. He was to show himself no greater statesman than Augustus had been, but a good administrative officer, and for the first nine years a mild ruler, because in those nine years he would be able, like Augustus the Emperor, to live easily, by using ordinary skill; towards the end of his life he became cruel, like Octavius the triumvir, because he was then encountering the perils and threats which the latter had met at the beginning of his career.

The critical moment for a government is that of its founder's death. Then alone its nature and duration are determined. Tiberius thought no more than Augustus did of the morrow; he continued his hypocritical moderation, and made it, so to speak, the rule of the imperial government. Hence those repeated alternations of a feigned abandonment of power on the part of the ruler, and sanguinary acts of violence in its maintenance; those hopes continually revived, only to be continually destroyed, and the oft-evoked phantom of the Republic, which ensnared to their death so many generous but credulous men. Besides, the will of

¹ Tiberius, who was born November 17th, 42 B. C., was, at the date of his accession, fifty-five years, nine months, and three days old. The statue of Tiberius discovered at Piperno (Privernum) is regarded as iconic. It is in the Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, No. 494.

² However, we find that the soldiers reproach him with no worse fault than a love of wine; and even here it seems to have been his name, rather than his habits, which drew upon him their rough pleasantry,—Tiberius Claudius Nero so easily changed by them into *Biberius Caldus Mero* (a drinker of hot strong wine); and Suetonius attests (*Tib.* 18) that in camp he lived as a soldier, eating off the ground and sleeping in the open air.

³ These continual spectacles of death must have very quickly hardened men's hearts. We read in Pliny (xxviii. 2) that they came to regard it as a sovereign remedy for certain maladies to drink gladiator's blood: *Ut vivente poculo calidem spirantemque sanguinem*. To this we add the cruelties permitted by the law in the case of slaves, attested by facts which Tacitus relates (*Ann.* xiv. 42; cf. Pliny, *Epist.* iii. 15) on the subject of Pedanius, Largius Macedo, and Vedius Pollio.

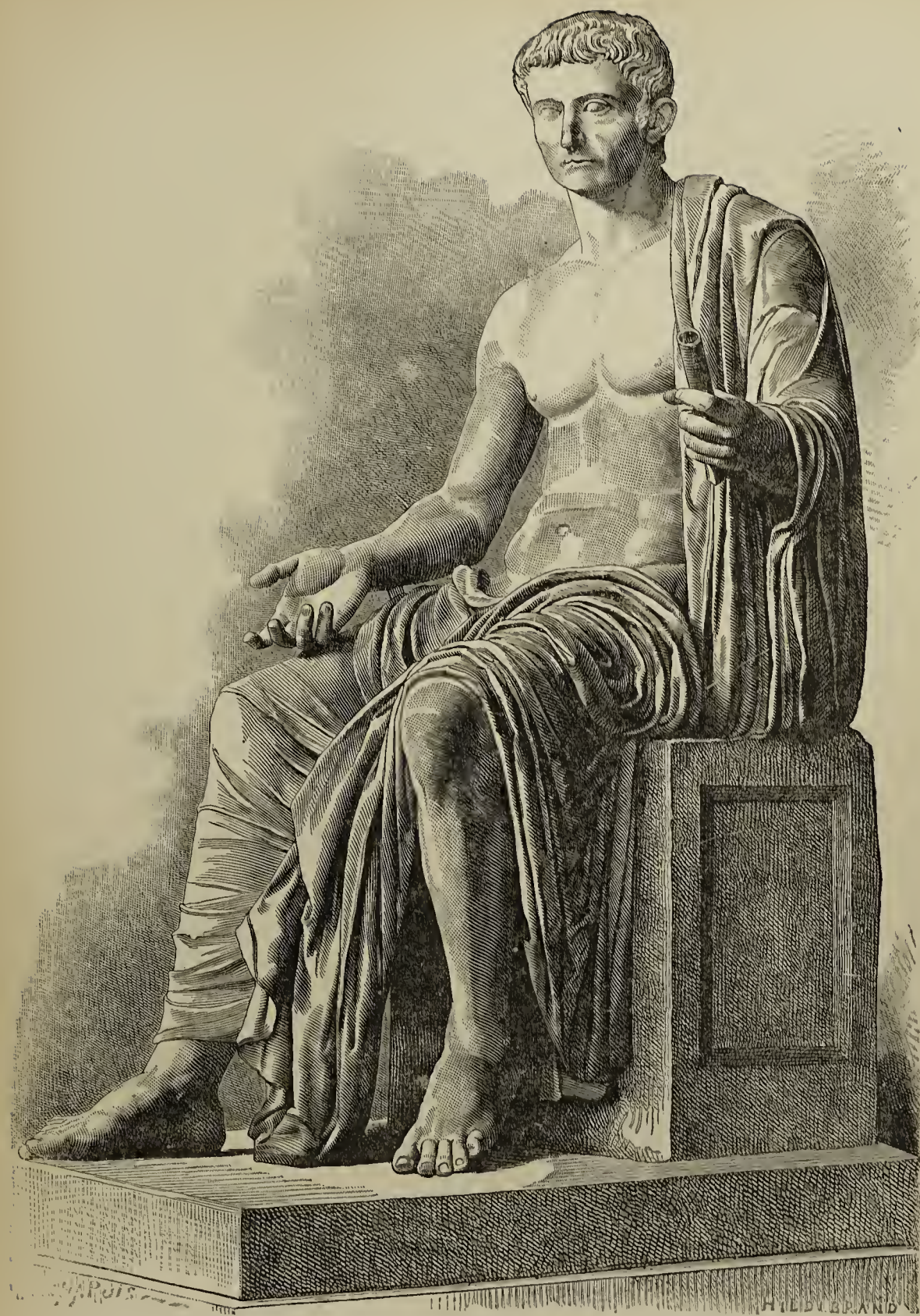
Augustus obliged Tiberius to follow this line of conduct. The latter feigned at first to give up all to the Senate and consuls, as if he had doubts concerning his rights. From the palace of the expiring Emperor the order had been sent out to the centurion in charge of Agrippa Postumus to put the latter to death. When the soldier came to say he had done it, "I have given no orders," said Tiberius; "you shall account to the Senate for this." But no investigation was made in regard to the matter, for no person was interested in the victim.¹

Tiberius called the Senate together modestly and with few words, "that they might deliberate upon the honors due to Augustus." This reserve was manifested only towards the senators. Emperor, he had written to the legions as Emperor; perpetual tribune, he had at Rome received the oaths of fidelity from the people and the magistrates, had given the countersign to the praetorians, and had gathered an escort of soldiers to accompany him to the Forum and even to the curia; hesitating in nothing and nowhere, except before the Senate.

This first session was like many in the time of Augustus; flattery and baseness on the one side, and a feigned disinterestedness on the other; always the same scene so often acted, but this time with the difference that the Emperor noted the free words and imprudent avowals, and silently marked those whom he considered objects of suspicion, and who later were to be his victims.

By one of those revolutions so frequent in human opinions,

¹ Tacitus accuses Tiberius of this murder. According to Suetonius, it was not known whether Augustus, dying, had left the order, *quo materiam tumultus post se subduceret*, or whether Livia, with the consent of Tiberius or unknown to him, had caused Agrippa to be put to death under a pretended order of Augustus. These words explain the answer of Tiberius, *se nihil imperasse*. Tacitus, Dion, and Suetonius agree in representing this Agrippa as a coarse and ignorant man, stupid in mind and ferocious in temper. Dion adds (lv. 32) that his property had been confiscated, which proves that it was the intention of Augustus that the sentence of banishment passed upon him should be for life, since ordinary banishment did not bring with it the confiscation of property, nor even the loss of civil rights. (Cf. Ovid, *Trist.* V. ii. 56, 57; and *Digest*, xxviii. 1, 8; xlviii. 22, fr. 4, 7, sec. 3; fr. 14, sec. 1; fr. 17, 18 pr.) Deportation or exile, on the contrary, destroyed all civil rights. The exile was, under the Empire, regarded as civilly dead (*Digest*, xxxvii. 1, fr. 13 and fr. 7, sec. 5; *ibid.* 4, fr. 1, sec. 8; fr. 5, sec. 2; xlviii. 12; and Paulus, lib. iii. *Sent.* tit. 4). This death of Agrippa was, however, one of those state crimes from which despotism does not recoil. It was brought about doubtless by the attempt a slave had made, on news of the approaching end of Augustus, to carry off Agrippa to the armies in Germany, which a few days later rose in insurrection (Tac., *Ann.* ii. 39).



STATUE OF TIBERIUS FOUND AT PIPERNO. (IN THE MUSEUM OF THE VATICAN.)

men were more republican at the time of the death of Augustus than they had been immediately after the battle of Actium; and they were to be yet more so at the court of Nero than at that of Tiberius. The Republic, retreating farther and farther from men's minds and becoming only a memory, was invested with that prestige with which the human mind covers all that long since existed, — a fortunate disposition, which, in securing our respect for the past, prevents the present from rushing too eagerly towards the future; but a dangerous illusion when this respect becomes a worship, and by this worship men try to restore life to what death has irrevocably smitten. There were, therefore, still republicans; but, as nothing had been regulated in respect to the imperial succession, there were also candidates for the Empire. Towards Octavius, the adopted son of Caesar, the vanquisher of Brutus and Antony, the pacificator of the world, men had willingly accepted the attitude of obedience. It was a time of repose, a dictatorship useful for the reconstruction of the state, and merely lasting longer than Caesar's. But if an autocracy was necessary, why Livia's son rather than the son of Piso, of Pollio, or of Lepidus? And these nobles who believed themselves worthy of the supreme power were numerous enough and well enough known for Augustus in his last hours to name them to Tiberius and discuss their chances.¹ One of them ventured to propose to give the new Emperor his share;² "Let him either accept or waive his claim," exclaimed another; and he had his reasons for hesitation, adds Suetonius, for he was in the midst of perils. He knew this well when he said to his friends in his energetic but often coarse language, "You have no idea what a monster this Empire is;" or still better, "I hold a wolf by the ears."³ We are too apt to forget both the immense wealth which some of these nobles had at their disposal, and the pride of these men who, not long ago, untrammelled and masters of the world, could not adapt themselves to their condition of subjects of a ruler and of the law. Their friend Tacitus tells of a young patrician, Sylla by name, who, contrary to all usage, refused to yield his seat in the theatre to an ex-prætor,

¹ Tac., *Ann.* i. 13.

² This refers to a division of which Dion speaks (lvii. 2). The Empire was to be divided into three parts, — Rome and Italy, the armies, and the provinces.

³ Suet., *Tib.* 24, 25.

and the latter, a new man, compelled, after long disputes in the Senate, to be content with mock amends.¹

Such were the adversaries by whom Tiberius felt himself surrounded; he had seen them engaged in their conspiracies under Augustus; and he knew them well, for he had filled the post of public accuser against them. But, in addition to this, he had his own personal enemies, the former friends of the young Caesars and of Agrippa, those who had threatened or had despised the exile in Rhodes, those who had ridiculed the husband of Julia, him who had dared to marry Vipsania and assume paternal rights over the new ruler's own son. These were formidable accounts to settle with such a man. He was not in haste, however, and in many cases left the old wrongs unrevenged until he had been renewedly and repeatedly provoked.

Tiberius opened his reign with favors to the Senate. Continuing the movement of concentration of all the powers which had been begun by Augustus, he transferred the elections from the Campus Martius to the curia.² Like his predecessor, Tiberius perfectly understood that the crowd of the Campus Martius, though easy to deceive, was subject, nevertheless, to sudden vicissitudes, formidable, impossible to prevent or arrest; but that nothing of the sort was to be apprehended in the curia, where the voting was *viva voce* and under the ruler's eye. The Senate, therefore, became

¹ *Ann.* iii. 31.

² Tac., *Ann.* i. 15 and 81. "This was," says Velleius Paterculus (ii. 124), "the execution of a plan marked out by Augustus." He himself usually proposed the candidates for the titles of consul and praetor. In respect to the other offices, he designated a certain number of candidates whom he sent to the Senate,—some for that body to make choice among them, others to draw their offices by lot under his supervision. This being done, those who were to fill the curule positions presented themselves to the centuries, and the inferior magistrates to the tribes, where they received the confirmation of their title (Dion, lviii. 20). The electoral comitia played the same part under the Empire that the comitia curiata had played under the Republic since the passage of the laws of Publilius Philo. Hence the saying of Galba in Quintilian (vi. 3): *petis tanquam Caesaris candidatus*. A like change took place, at a period unknown, in the municipia and the colonies, probably even in leaving some exceptions: the order of the decurions appointed to the magistracies, in virtue of a *Lex Petronia* often mentioned (cf. Orelli, No. 3679, and n. 3, *ad h. loc.*), but of which we have not the text. Zumpt (*Comm. Epigr.*, p. 60) refers this law to the year 19 A. D. Thus, Rome was governed *μοναρχικῶς*, and the municipia *ἀριστοκρατικῶς*. This aristocracy (the order of decurions) eventually became hereditary. In two inscriptions recently found at Prusias ad Hypium, one Callicles is called *agonothetes* (president) from father to son of the great Augustan games celebrated every five years in the temple of Augustus and of Rome, and one of the Ten First (*decemprimi*) is called senator and censor for life (G. Perrot, *Explorat. archéol. de la Galatie*).

heir to the comitia; and, as Tiberius gave it the show of electoral power, he gave it also the show of legislative power. During his reign the comitia passed but two laws;¹ all the legislation was to be accomplished in the curia by senatus-consulta, or in the palace by edicts,² and in the second half of his reign the Emperor would not even take the pains to elaborate either of them in the privy council established by Augustus. He suffered the Senate, the docile instrument of the imperial will, to encroach upon the other jurisdictions, though multiplying the cases which he reserved for himself. Thus, under the second Emperor, this body, at once electoral, legislative, and judicial, held a place even larger than under the first. It occupied the entire stage; but the part which it played there, we must remember, was dictated and regulated by the ruler. We have here, then, the worst thing the world contains, — the most absolute dependence under an exterior of strength and liberty.

As to the people thus despoiled, we know too well what they had been for a century to expect a word of regret or a murmur to arise from such a debased rabble. But the aristocracy were less resigned.

The military despotism whose law is to demand everything from the soldiery, under penalty also of granting them everything, was at the foundation of the government of Augustus. It became apparent on the morrow of his death. One of the two alternatives which under this system constantly succeeded each other, — the supreme power of the ruler and the demands of the armies, — showed itself as soon as men became aware of the accession of a new power, believed to be still feeble and timid. The soldiery understood that upon them



DRUSUS, SON OF TIBERIUS.³

¹ *Lex Junia Norbana*, in the year 19 (cf. Gaius, i. 22; and Ulpian, fr. 1, 10, and 16); and *Lex Visellia*, in the year 23 (Ulpian, iii. 5).

² *Senatus-consultum legis vicem obtinet* (Gaius, i. 4). *Non ambigitur senatum jus facere posse* (Ulpian, in *Digest*, i. 3, sec. 9).

³ Cameo (*Cabinet de France*, No. 217).

depended the security of the Emperor, as well as that of the Empire; and since there were no more civil wars by which they could be enriched, successions to the throne were to serve them instead. Three legions of Pannonia revolted, demanded a denarius daily instead of ten ases, exemption from service after sixteen years instead of twenty, and a fixed sum payable in camp on the day they entered the veteran standing. Tiberius sent them his son Drusus, with Sejanus, one of the praetorian prefects, and all the disposable troops in Italy. An eclipse of the moon (September 26th), which terrified the conspirators, brought the revolt to an end.¹

Upon the Rhine it lasted longer, and was more dangerous. Eight legions were there, distributed in two camps under the command of Germanicus, governor of Gaul. The demands were the same. In the lower camp the legionaries murdered their centurions who sought to restrain them; and when Germanicus, then occupied in collecting the revenue, hastened to the camp, they claimed from him the legacy left them by Augustus, and offered him the Empire. At this dangerous word Germanicus cried out that he would sooner die, and, seizing his sword, turned the point against his breast. "Strike, then!" his soldiers exclaimed; and, his friends snatching away the sword, a legionary offered his, saying, "Take this; the edge is sharper." It was useless to speak of honor and loyalty to madmen like these, who were already estimating what the pillage of the Gallic cities would bring them; Germanicus gave way before the threat of a civil war, which the Barbarians would not have failed to turn to their own advantage. He feigned to have received a letter from Tiberius granting their demands, and doubling the legacy of Augustus. But he was forced on the moment to satisfy the mercenary soldiery, give dismissals, and distribute bounties; the tribute money just collected, and all the personal funds of the general and his friends, were scarcely enough to meet the emergency.

In the upper camp less excitement prevailed. Germanicus went thither, received the oath, and distributed exemptions and largesses. But the deputies of the Senate arrived at the altar of the Ubii, whither Caccina had led two of the rebellious legions.

¹ Drusus put the leaders to death, — a needful severity. But Tacitus is ready to accuse him of vindictiveness: *promptum ad asperiora ingenium* (Ann. i. 29).

The soldiers believed that these envoys brought a decree contrary to the general's promises; especially they suspected the chief of the deputation, the ex-consul Munatius Plancus, of unfriendliness towards them; they insulted him, pursued him to the altar, where he took refuge among the standards, and they would have killed him had it not been for the courage of a standard-bearer and the arrival of Germanicus. This new sedition decided the latter upon extreme measures; he first sent away to the city of the Treviri his wife Agrippina and all his household, with his young son Caius, who, born in the camp and reared among the tents, had received from the soldiers the name of Caligula (Little Boots).¹ But the spectacle of women and children of rank fleeing from a Roman camp to seek shelter among Barbarians caught the attention of the revolted soldiery; it astonished and moved them. They crowded about Germanicus, begging him not to inflict upon them this disgrace; they listened to his reproaches, fell at his feet, and, conquered, as the multitude so often is, by a woman, conjured him to punish the guilty. They themselves seized the instigators of the revolt; a tribunal

CAIUS AS A YOUTH (CALIGULA).²

¹ *Quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia, eo tegmine pedum induebatur* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 42).

² A charming bronze statue found at Pompeii in 1824 (*Mus. Borbon.*, vol. v. pl. 26). Caius, shod with the *caligae* (whence his name), is clad in a chlamys, over which is thrown the ægis with the Medusa's head. The silver ornaments of his cuirass represent the chariot of the Sun warning the earth, represented below between the signs of Aries and Taurus. This has been understood to be an allegory recording the incident named in the text, which occurred in the month of April.

was erected, the legionaries, sword in hand, surrounded it; each prisoner was led up in succession, and, if his comrades declared him guilty, he was flung down among them and instantly put to death. Two other legions encamped at Vetera Castra followed this example. A victory was needed to expiate these horrors; Germanicus profited by the enthusiasm of his troops, and led them against the enemy. Among the Marsi a space of fifty miles was ravaged; a victory gained over an ambushed German force ennobled this too easy expedition.

The avenging of Varus still tarried. In the following spring Germanicus again crossed the Rhine, hoping to profit by the quarrel between Arminius and Segestes, of the national and the Roman party, which had lately broken out afresh. Segestes had for a moment held his rival a prisoner, but was now in turn besieged, and implored the succor of the legions. The Cherusci, menaced by Caecina, allowed Germanicus to ravage the whole country of the Catti and deliver Segestes, making many prisoners, among them the wife of Arminius.¹

Since the retreat of Segestes, the national party had been in the ascendant; the last ravages of the Romans, with the passionate appeals of Arminius, had aroused the tribes to frenzy, and a new league was formed. In the new campaign Germanicus followed the route his father had opened. A fleet brought four legions to the mouths of the Ems; the Chauci offered auxiliaries, and the Romans advanced as far as the Teutoberg Forest. The army soon came upon traces of the defeat of Varus, — half-ruined ramparts of the camps, bleached bones, heaps of broken weapons, and human heads still attached to the trees. The few eye-witnesses of the disaster who had escaped captivity or death pointed out the spots where the commanders of the legions had perished, where the eagles were seized, the place where Varus had killed himself, and the mound from which Arminius had harangued his people and the places where he set up his gibbets.² The legions interred the bones of their slaughtered countrymen, — a last tribute, delayed for

¹ There were incessant strifes between these tribes, more unfriendly to each other than to the Romans. A chief of the Amsivarii had also been put in irons by Arminius (Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 55.)

² [Cf. the splendid description of Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 69). — Ed.]

six years; and a monument of turf was raised to their memory, Germanicus himself laying the first sod.

Arminius, sharply pursued, fell back fighting; on one occasion he very nearly succeeded in drawing the Roman army into a marsh, and Germanicus, in turn, was obliged to stop.¹ He regained the river and re-embarked, leaving the cavalry to follow along the sea-shore, and Caccina with his troops to return to the Rhine by the road of the Long Bridges. Arminius preceded him thither; and while the Romans were repairing the half-destroyed causeway over the marshes, fell upon the working parties, threw disorder into their ranks, and in the evening, turning the streams from the neighboring hills, he directed them upon the narrow space where the Romans were encamped. The night was frightful; on both sides the Teutoberg Forest was remembered, which the Romans had



THE CUIRASSED GERMANICUS.²

so lately seen, and Caccina in a dream beheld Varus rise out of the marsh dripping with blood, and, calling on him to follow, wave his hand to point the way. Daylight renewed the combat.

¹ The campaign ended with an equal advantage on both sides, says Tacitus: *manibus aequis abscessum*. It is the acknowledgment of a defeat.

² Museum of the Lateran. This statue was found at Cervetri (Caere) in 1839, at the same time that statues of seven other members of the imperial family were discovered, — Caesar, Livia, Tiberius, Drusus, Agrippina, Claudius, and Britannicus.

“Behold Varus and his legions,” Arminius cried; “their fate has a second time given them into our hands!” And he fell upon the cohorts, which in the muddy ground could not form in their usual order. The Barbarians aimed at the horses, thus to increase the disorder. That of Caccina was killed, and this veteran of forty campaigns would have fallen into the enemy’s hands but for a vigorous effort of the first legion. The avidity of their assailants saved the army: while they were plundering the baggage, Caccina gained open and solid ground, where they encamped as best they could. Here, during the night, an escaped horse suddenly dashed amongst the soldiers, trampling down all that came in his way. A panic ensued; unarmed as they were, the soldiers rushed towards the gate of the camp. They would have fallen into the power of the Barbarians, had not Caccina, finding that neither authority nor entreaties could detain them, thrown himself upon the ground, lying stretched at length across the passage, barring the way with his body. At sight of their general in that position the troops recoiled with horror, and order was restored. Morning having come, he distributed to the bravest of the soldiers the horses of the centurions and tribunes, and even his own, and held his troops ready behind the intrenchments. The Barbarians advanced, crossed the moat, and seized the palisades. At this moment the trumpet sounded and the gates were thrown open; upon the firm ground, the legionaries soon recovered what had been lost, and the enemy fled. The road to the Rhine was clear; but the rumor of a new disaster had already spread along the river, and it was proposed to cut the bridge by which Caccina would arrive. Agrippina remonstrated, and succeeded in preventing this base act; on the arrival of the troops she went out to meet them, praising their courage, distributing remedies to the wounded and garments and money to those who had lost everything,—noble conduct, but novel on the part of a Roman matron, and blamed by Sejanus.¹

Germanicus, surprised by the high tides and storms of the equinox, had been himself in danger.² This unlucky campaign

¹ Tacitus sees no harm in this, of course, and he is right; but the same things done by Plancina are to him violations of feminine propriety (*Ann.* ii. 55).

² Seneca, in his *Suasoria*, has preserved to us a fragment of Peto Albinovannus in respect to the tempest which so nearly proved fatal to Germanicus. This Peto is probably the same as the prefect of cavalry mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 60), who served in these campaigns.

cost many lives, and almost all the baggage. The tomb erected to Varus had been quickly destroyed, and the bones of the legions once more scattered over the plain; an altar set up in honor of Drusus had also been destroyed, and the Barbarians were besieging one of the forts constructed upon the Lippe. Another expedition was needed to overthrow the confidence of the Germans and destroy the prestige of their arms. Gaul, Spain, and Italy promptly repaired the losses in the army. A thousand vessels were constructed, and Germanicus embarked his troops, after fortifying all the valley of the Lippe, which, penetrating into the heart of Western Germany, furnished means of keeping in check the tribes adjacent to the river. By the route of the ocean and the River Ems, eight legions reached the banks of the Weser, which they crossed in the presence of the Cherusci. The Barbarians, relying too much upon their courage, united their forces in the "Fairies' Plain," Idistavisus.¹ Upon this favorable ground, their superiority in arms and discipline gave the Romans a complete victory. Arminius escaped only by cutting his way through on horseback, having smeared his face with his own blood to avoid recognition. Notwithstanding his wounds, he rallied his forces for another action; it was a second massacre; the butchery lasted for a whole day, and a trophy raised by the victors bore the inscription, "The army of Tiberius Caesar, victorious over the nations between the Elbe and the Rhine, has consecrated this monument to Mars, Jupiter, and Augustus."

This time the disgrace of the Roman arms was effaced. Tiberius wanted nothing more, and the army returned into Gaul, half by land, the rest by the fleet. A storm lasting several days wrecked and engulfed many of the vessels; some were carried as far as the coasts of Britain, others went ashore on unknown territory, and the Barbarians thus made captive many of the conquerors of Idistavisus. At the news of this all Germany was again aroused. But Germanicus rallied his troops and attacked the Catti and Marsi, from whom one of the eagles of Varus was recovered; and the Barbarians, surprised at so much vigor, did not attempt

¹ Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 372) thinks this region was called Idisiaviso, from *Idisi*, fairy. This is the plain on the right bank of the Weser between the present villages of Hausbergen, Mittekenhausen, Vennebeck, and Holtrup (cf. Wilhem, *Germania*, p. 164).

to impede the march of the legions towards their winter quarters (16 A. D.).

On his arrival there, Germanicus found letters from Tiberius calling him to Rome to receive a second consulship and a triumph. He, however, asked for a year more, promising that he would make an end of the Barbarians within a few months. "We shall do better," the Emperor wrote, "since the honor of Rome is avenged, to abandon them to their own rivalries and internal disputes; it is thus that I reduced the Suevi and their king to peace. If, moreover, hostilities be recommenced, is it not more fitting to leave to Drusus some work, and the sole opportunity for him also to gain the title of imperator?" Tiberius believed this policy good for the Empire and for his own family; but it does not suit Tacitus, who is already preparing his tragic story of the death of Germanicus: the historian is quite sure that he knows secret reasons which the Emperor did not assign, and he describes with much appreciation the noble submission of the victorious general, who, detecting the suspicions of his Emperor, quitted the scene of his renown and his too devoted legions.

When Germanicus proposed to Tiberius to subjugate Germany, he was right, and the Emperor's refusal was an error. The true frontier of the Empire was not the Rhine, but the Elbe; the elder Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus had penetrated as far as this river, and Domitius had crossed it. A subject country for now seventy years, Gaul was becoming rapidly Roman, and it was very necessary to give it for a rampart Latinized Germany. Asia and her nomads enter Europe through a vast plain, which, turning the Carpathians and the mountains of Bohemia, stretches to the Rhine, a highway of invasion. If civilization, mistress of the great fortress of Bohemia rising from the Danube, opposite the Austrian Alps which were held by the legions, had strongly established herself behind the Elbe, the defence was easy. This line of rivers and mountains, which, from the Adriatic to the North Sea, bars the continent, later arrested the Slavs,¹ the Mongols, and

¹ About the year 650 the Czechs occupied Bohemia, and they are still there; but perhaps, had the Romans been in possession of the country, the Czechs might never have effected an entrance. The frontier of the Danube and the Rhine is a line of nearly twenty-five hundred miles. From the Bohemian mountains to the North Sea by the valley of the Elbe is not over four hundred and twenty miles.

the Turks; and it would have arrested the Huns. The shock of these savage hordes, which in Upper Italy and Gaul could encroach upon only a corner of civilized land, would have been broken by a Germany covered with Roman populations and defended by strong cities. After the defeat of Arminius and Maroboduus the occupation of this territory was not beyond the strength of the Empire, and would have changed its destiny. The occasion then lost was not recovered till, at the end of eight centuries, Charlemagne put an end forever to Eastern invasions when he forced the Germanic nations to enter into his new Empire of the West. But they entered it only after the great downfall, and had never been touched by the influence of Rome, whence it happens that they have retained to modern times their native rudeness and that peculiar culture, *das Germanenthum*, so different from the civilization of the Latin races.

Meanwhile, at Rome, Tiberius governed with wisdom and without violence. He has been accused of leaving Julia to die in destitution, and of having put to death one of her lovers, Semp. Gracchus, banished fourteen years before to the island of Cercina;² but for a Roman this harshness was by no means a crime. In the open Forum, a citizen seeing a funeral pass by, called out loudly to the dead man to tell Augustus that his legacies to the people had never been paid. Tiberius, it is said, continued the joke: he caused the citizen to receive his share; then sent him to execution, saying, "Go quickly, and carry the truer report yourself." This, if true, is cruel;³ but probably there were many in that age who



COIN OF MARCELLUS,
GOVERNOR OF
BITHYNIA.¹

¹ M. GRANIVS MARCELLVS PROCOS. Woman seated, holding a cornucopia. Bronze coin, struck in Bithynia. Unique and hitherto unpublished coin of the *Cabinet de France*.

² Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 53) draws a sad picture of this Gracchus: "He made only a perverse use of his eloquence. During the lifetime of Augustus he had corrupted Julia, and their persistent criminality had dishonored the house of Tiberius. He did not cease to inflame the displeasure of Julia against her husband, and was believed to be the author of the violent letters written by her to Augustus on the subject of Tiberius." Augustus, says Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 24), condemned to death or to exile the accomplices in crime of his daughter and granddaughter; and the historian narrates a suit (ii. 85) instituted against a husband because he had not punished the misconduct of his wife.

³ Suetonius, who relates this anecdote (*Tib.* 57), says, however, that Tiberius did not wish to commence his reign with severities, *ne quid in novitate acerbius fieret* (*Tib.* 25); and

found the repartee admirable. In a land where it was usual to throw slaves living to the eels, how many would object to the *bon-mot* that cost a poor fellow his life? Tiberius refused the



LIVIA AUGUSTA AS ABUNDANCE.
(STATUE IN THE MUSEUM OF THE LOUVRE.)

honors and the temples offered to him, forbade men to swear by his name or fortune, refused to be called *Pater Patriae*, lord, or master, or that men should speak of his sacred occupations,¹ and repulsed the base flatteries of the Senate as a man might who knew their worthlessness. It was proposed to give his name to the month in which he was born: "What will you do," he said, "when you have thirteen Emperors?"²

His life was simple, that of a rich citizen; his manners, if not affable, at least polite. He rose in the presence of the consuls, referred most affairs to them, and in every question consulted the Senate,³ accepting contradiction, the tribunes' veto, and even the lessons which "dying liberty"⁴ ventured to give him. One Mar-

cellus, a former governor of Bithynia, was accused of extortion and of disgraceful language. This time Tiberius was indignant

Tacitus speaks to the same effect. The story is probably no more truthful than that of the execution of the man who, in the presence of the Emperor, throwing down a glass cup which changed shape in falling, gave back to the cup its original form by moulding it in his hands (Dion, lvii. 21). Fabricius says justly concerning this anecdote: *Totius hujus rei famam crebriorem diu quam certiore fuisse*; and this might be said of many more.

¹ Dion, lvii. 9. In the year 18, however, we see the dummvirs of Florentia instituting, for the birthday of Tiberius, a public repast preceded by an offering of incense and wine, *genio Augusti et Tiberii*, before their statues set up in a chapel (Orelli, No. 686).

² Dion, lvii. 18; Tac. *Ann.* i. 72; Suet. *Tib.* 26, 27.

³ Dion, lvii. 7.

⁴ *Vestigia morientis libertatis* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 74). See in Suetonius (*Tib.* 30 and 31) many

and wished to speak. "But when?" says a senator. "If before us, you dictate our opinions; if after, I have to fear that my opinion and yours may differ." Tiberius was silent, and allowed



REMAINS OF THE PALACE OF TIBERIUS.

the Senate to absolve Marcellus.¹ Some time after this he forbade investigation to be made concerning libellous language used against himself or Livia.² "In a free state," he said, "speech and

examples of the authority left to the Senate and magistrates: *Cum senatus-consultum per discessionem forte fieret, transeuntem eum in alteram partem, in qua pauciores erant, secutus est nemo.*

¹ Tac., *Ann.* i. 74.

² *Id.*, *Ibid.* ii. 50.

thought should remain free." And, the Senate insisting on taking cognizance of these offences, "We have not," he says, "so much time upon our hands that we ought to involve ourselves in more business. If you once make an opening for such proceedings, you will soon have nothing else to do. All private quarrels will be brought before you under that pretence."¹

One Piso, a bitter critic of the time, complaining of the intrigues of the Forum, the corruption of the judges, and the cruelty of the orators, declared that he was about to quit Rome and conceal himself in some remote and unknown land; and, saying these words, he rose to leave the senate-house. Tiberius at first sought to pacify by gentle words this fierce virtue, then had recourse to entreaties, and ended by calling on Piso's kindred to prevent his departure. This same Piso at another time brought a suit against a favorite of Livia to obtain a sum of money due to him. All Rome was amazed; the Empress complained that she was insulted, and called upon Tiberius to punish the offence. He excused himself, spoke of the law which must be obeyed, and to have peace with his mother promised himself to plead her favorite's cause. He went out from the palace on foot and



COIN OF THE FONTEIAN FAMILY.

unattended, walked slowly, stopped to talk with those whom he met, lengthening the time and the road. Meantime, the case was finished, the judges found the award, and Livia sent the money that was claimed.² If he refused to do an unjust act at the request of that imperious mother whom he respected to the latest hour of her long life, can it be believed that he showed more complaisance towards others?

"When fair occasions called for liberality, he was ready to open his purse; and this munificent spirit he retained for a long time when every other virtue was extinguished. . . . An ex-praetor asked permission to withdraw from the Senate on account of poverty; but Tiberius gave him a million sesterces. Another complained that the foundations of his house had been ruined by the construction of a public road and an aqueduct, and the Emperor paid

¹ Suet., *Tib.* 28.

² Tac., *Ann.* ii. 34.

him the value of them.”¹ Fonteius offered his daughter to become a vestal; Tiberius did not accept, but gave her a dowry of a million sesterces.² The grandson of the orator Hortensius, already once rescued from poverty by Augustus, had fallen back into it and begged new assistance; the Emperor refused it.³ Tacitus brings this up against him; but it seems to me praiseworthy. The historian himself is constrained to add, in relating other instances of a wise munificence on the part of Tiberius: “In general, he accepted legacies only from his friends, and rejected all those offered him by unknown persons.”⁴ But, while he relieved honest and virtuous poverty, he was pitiless towards that caused by prodigality and profligacy, as was experienced by Varro, Marius Nepos, Appianus, Sylla, and Vitellius, whom he expelled from the Senate.

The testimony which Tacitus is forced to bear in his favor does not prevent that partial writer from going so far as to reproach the Emperor for his good sense. The Tiber overflowed and desolated its banks. The Senate saw no other remedy than to consult the Sibylline books; Tiberius sent engineers to study the river.⁵ He was right; but the historian, with great magnificence of empty and sonorous words, accuses him of covering with mystery all things divine and human.⁶ A man swore by Augustus, and the oath was false; he was prosecuted, not for the immoral act, but for the disrespect shown to the divine Augustus. “The gods,” said Tiberius, “must be their own avengers.”⁷ He complained of the extravagance which carried the wealth of the Empire into foreign lands. When, however, any of those sumptuary laws were proposed which are never effectual, he rejected them, but

¹ Tac., *Ann.* i. 75.

² *Ibid.* ii. 86.

³ However, through respect for the Senate, he gave two hundred thousand sesterces apiece to each of the sons of the noble beggar (Tac., *Ann.* ii. 38).

⁴ Dion, lvi. 17: τῶν γὰρ ἀλλοτρίων ἰσχυρὸς ἀπεχόμενος. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* ii. 48. What Suetonius relates of Lepida (*Tib.* 49) is refuted by Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 22, 23), and Seneca, who draws a sad portrait of Lentulus, speaks indeed of his four hundred million sesterces, but not of the conduct of Tiberius (*De Ben.* ii. 27).

⁵ The Tiber has always been subject to enormous freshets. The office of inspector of the river became permanent. Cf. Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 2502-3, or 5944; and Orelli, Nos. 1117, 2284, etc.

⁶ *Ann.* i. 76: . . . *perinde divina humanaque obtegens.*

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 73: . . . *deorum injurias diis curae.* The jurisconsults made of this a crime punishable by law. See p. 186.

recommended to the aediles a stricter watch over public morals, and, still better, himself set an example of simplicity, causing to be served upon his own table, even on feast days, what was left from the preceding day's repast.

While he permitted by his silence, in a much talked-of affair, a tribune's veto to triumph over the authority of the Senate, and continued his predecessor's labors for the adornment of the city, he nevertheless made no base concessions to the popular will. Augustus regarded it as a duty to be present at all public amusements, and owed to this deference a part of his popularity. Tiberius despised methods like these, and left the populace to amuse itself without him. He even limited the expenses of the games; he reduced the salaries of actors, and forbade senators to visit the houses of buffoons, and knights to be seen with them in public. Actors might give performances only upon the stage, and a *senatus-consultum* invested the praetor with the extravagant right of condemning turbulent spectators to exile. Disorders having occurred in the theatre, he banished the chiefs of the rival factions, as well as the actors about whom the dispute had occurred, and never yielded to the solicitations of the people for their recall.

Of all the pleasures of the crowd the most relished were the Atellane farces and the gladiatorial games. Tiberius repressed the license of the former, and permitted the latter to take place but rarely.¹ Even, according to Tacitus, who doubtless forgot himself here, he reproached his son Drusus with exhibiting too much pleasure at the sight of blood.² He would have been glad to extirpate superstition which grew in proportion as the official religion declined. Magicians were banished; one was precipitated from the Tarpeian Rock, another executed "after the ancient manner." The Egyptian and Jewish priests were expelled, with their followers.

The multitude cried out against the tax of one per cent upon sales. Tiberius, who introduced strict economy into the finances, replied that this was the sole support of the army. But later, when the matter had passed from men's minds, he granted a

¹ Suet., *Tib.* 34 and 47. After the great disaster to the amphitheatre of Fidenae, in 28 A. D., he caused it to be decided by the Senate that it should be prohibited to any to give gladiatorial combats *cui minor quadringentorum millium res* (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 63).

² *Ann.* i. 76.



STATUE OF TIBERIUS FOUND AT VEIL. (VATICAN, MUSEO CHIARAMONTI, NO. 400.)

reduction of one half; the tribute of Cappadocia, made into a province, filling the deficit.¹ In the year 19, corn was dear and famine impending; the Emperor did what was done for the first time in France in the famine of 1853,—he maintained corn at its usual price for the buyer, but compensated the seller, making allowance for the difference at the rate of two sesterces the bushel.²

Rome was always in danger of famine, since “the life of the Roman people was at the mercy of winds and waves.” Italy, changed as it was, especially near the city, into pleasure gardens, and ruined by the competition of foreign grain, could no longer feed her inhabitants. Tiberius, to revive agriculture, renewed a law of Caesar, obliging the rich to put a part of their fortune into Italian lands.³ The roads were not yet safe; he multiplied military posts, and repressed with severity all acts which endangered the public peace. The inhabitants of Pollentia had extorted by violence from the heirs of a person whose funeral procession passed through their city the sum necessary for a combat of gladiators. Tiberius instantly despatched thither two cohorts, who entered the city sword in hand; many decurions and notables were seized and put in irons, whence they were never set free. The Emperor thus made it evident to all the municipalities in the Empire that he held them responsible for the disorders which they did not punish.⁴

The soldiers, who had inaugurated this reign by a revolt, were not slow in understanding that they had a master to whom their obedience must be unquestioning. Tiberius withdrew the concessions he had at first made them; the veteran standing was put off till the end of twenty years, and even then but rarely allowed. Later, at a time when he needed the praetorians, he nevertheless refused them permission to sit with the knights at the theatre, and severely reprimanded the author of this proposal for wishing to corrupt these rude minds and destroy discipline.⁵

¹ Tac., *Ann.* ii. 42. Dion (lviii. 16) says that he reduced it to the original rate; but there is still question under Caligula (Suet., *Cal.* 16) of the *ducentesima*.

² Tac., *Ann.* ii. 87. I refer to the ingenious combination of under-tax and over-tax devised by M. Haussmann, constituting for the benefit of the Parisian populace an insurance against a high price of bread.

³ Tac., *Ann.* vi. 16, 17.

⁴ Suet., *Tib.* 37.

⁵ Tac., *Ann.* vi. 3, 4.

He doubled for the legions the legacy of Augustus, but this was the sole largess they had from him. After the death of Sejanus the legions of Syria alone received some gifts, because they had never placed the likeness of the favorite among their standards.¹ This severity was successful, and during all his reign he never had a mutiny to suppress.

In respect to the provinces he continued the policy of Augustus. If he dared not, like his predecessor, absent himself from Rome in order to visit them, having neither an Agrippa nor a Maecenas upon whom he could rely in his absence, he at least sent them the ablest governors, who maintained order, and by useful public works increased their prosperity. Africa still retains a bridge of the time of Tiberius. He avoided augmenting the tributes, and relieved excessive destitution. Twelve cities of Asia,



COIN COMMEMORATIVE OF
SERVICES RENDERED IN
ASIA.³

ruined by an earthquake, were exempted by him from all taxes, and Sardis, the one which had suffered most, received from him ten million sesterces.² Certain governors manifesting too keen an interest in their treasury, "A good shepherd," he said to them, "shears his flock, not flays it." In Egypt the harvest of the year 18 had been bad; corn was dear; Germanicus employed the reserves of the State, and kept the

price low by opening the public granaries.⁴ The provinces, therefore, testified their gratitude: some, by erecting temples to the divinity of the Emperors; others, as Gaul and Spain, by spontaneously furnishing the armies all the aid of which they had need. Macedon and Greece offered a still higher compliment to the imperial government: they requested, as a remedy for all their troubles, to pass from the administration of the Senate's proconsuls to that of the Emperor's lieutenants.

The Empire, then, was wisely and mildly governed. But,

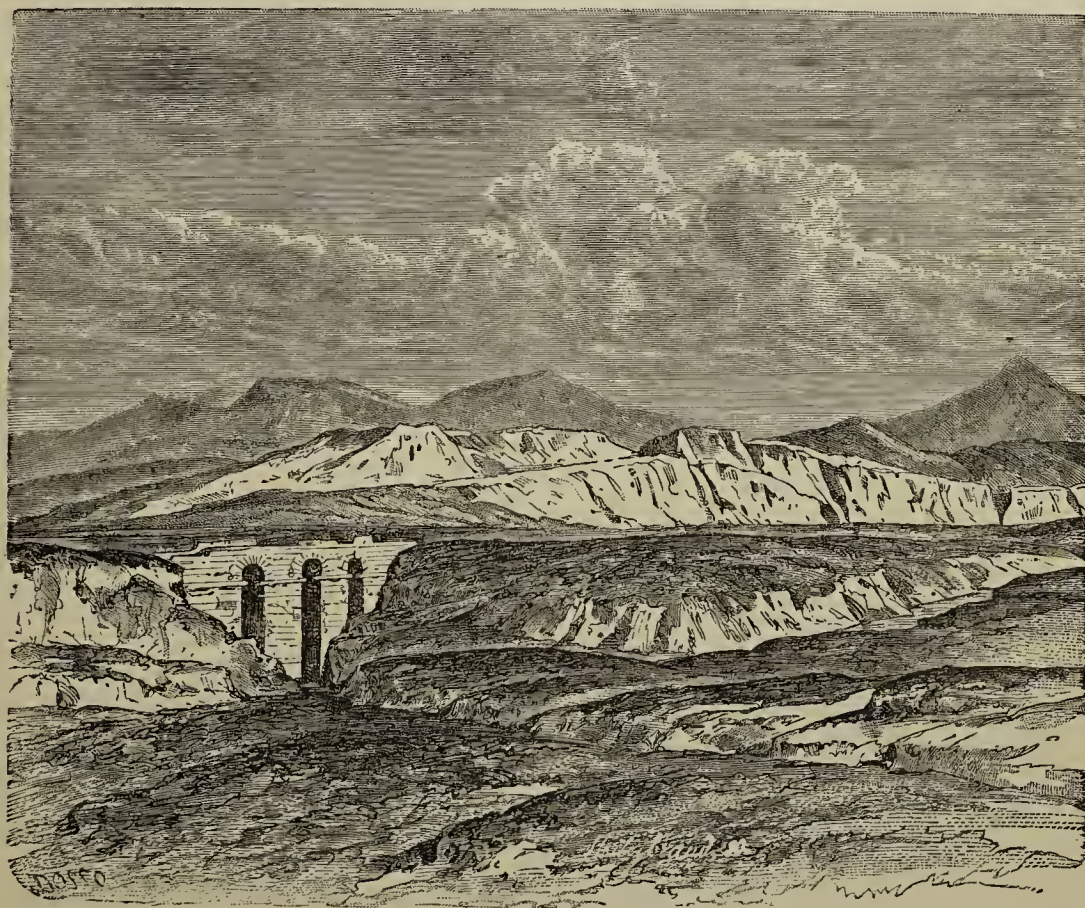
¹ Suet., *Tib.* 48.

² Tac., *Ann.* ii. 47; cf. Dion, lvi. 17. An inscription recently found at Mylasa calls Tiberius τὸν εὐεργέτην (the city) εὐεργέτην (*Bull. de Corresp. hellénique*, January, 1881, p. 41).

³ Tiberius, laurel-crowned, seated in a curule chair, holding a patera and a sceptre; around, the legend: *Civitatibus Asiae restitutis*. Large bronze of Tiberius.

⁴ Tac., *Ann.* ii. 59.

seeing the gentleness of the new Emperor, the nobles grew bolder. One Piso maintained, in the very face of Tiberius, that, in the ruler's absence, the Senate should still continue its deliberation and action. This proposal, which displaced the sovereign power, was rejected only after long and doubtful discussion. This Piso is the man whom we shall see audaciously reviving the habits of



REMAINS OF A BRIDGE OF TIBERIUS IN TUNISIA.¹

the last days of the Republic, arming his slaves, levying troops, and of his own authority declaring war upon a Roman general, in order by force to repossess himself of his province. Another, one of those whom Augustus had designated as very eager to share his heritage, Gallus, made the proposal that magistrates should be designated five years in advance. This was to disarm the supreme authority and give the magistrates-elect a dangerous influence. As Piso desired that the Conscript Fathers should take

¹ Upon the Oued-Badja, from an unpublished drawing by M. Tissot, French Ambassador.

their political powers seriously, so others wished them to exercise their electoral right with independence. Germanicus and Drusus united in supporting very earnestly one of their relatives for the praetorship; the Senate long repulsed him, and the candidate of the Caesars and the court obtained his election only by a very small majority.¹ Thus the Conscrip't Fathers were quite willing to resume their old place, while keeping, of course, all the new powers which had been given them. I have criticised the institutions of Augustus, but between the authority of one man and

that of an assembly such as the Senate, I take without hesitation the side of the Emperor.

The secret sentiments of the aristocracy are shown more clearly in the double attempt of Libo and Clemens. One was a young patrician, related to the imperial family, to whom the astrologers, then much in vogue, had promised a high fortune. This time it was not an affair of imprudent words merely : tablets were found on which the names of



THE AGED LIVIA.²

Tiberius and some senators were preceded by mysterious notes. Libo, evidently guilty, took his own life.³ Two of the astrologers were put to death, and the rest, with all the magicians, were expelled from Italy. Clemens was a slave belonging to Agrippa Postumus, who sought to pass himself off as his master. Secretly encouraged by knights and senators, and even by persons belonging

¹ Tac., *Ann.* ii. 51.

² Bust in the Museum at Naples.

³ Suetonius (*Tib.* 25), who speaks of the dangers by which Tiberius was threatened on every hand, *undique imminens discriminum*, speaks of the conspiracy (cf. Dion, lvi. 15), and its serious character is indicated by the fact that in the municipia festivals were established from the 10th to the 13th of September, commemorative of the discovery of Libo's plot. Cf. Orelli, chap. xxii., *Fastes d'Ami'ternum*.

to the imperial household, he gathered some partisans. It was reported that he had landed at Ostia, and clandestine gatherings were taking place in the city. Two emissaries, who had succeeded in deceiving his vigilance with offers of their support, one night captured him and brought him before Tiberius. "How did you become Agrippa?" asked the Emperor. "And how did you become Caesar?" retorted the slave boldly. He was put to death within the palace, but Tiberius forbade search to be made for the other conspirators.

Nearer home Tiberius found domestic vexations: Livia, accustomed to the consideration shown her by Augustus, believed herself still the Empress, and insisted on being listened to. Drusus, the son of Tiberius, had done nothing, and gave promise neither of talents nor merit. The fidelity of Germanicus is above suspicion, but the daughter of Julia could not forget the authors of her mother's ruin. Eager for power, proud of her birth, of her numerous children,



AGRIPPINA (BUST IN THE CAMPANA MUSEUM).¹

of her virtue, and of the people's love for the conqueror of Idistavus, Agrippina openly defied the widow of Augustus, and would not suffer the wife of Drusus as her equal.² These rivalries of

¹ H. d'Escamps, *Descr. des Marb.*, etc., No. 66.

² *Paulo commotior, . . . indomitum animum* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 33). Cf. *Id.* ii. 43, and ii. 72: *exueret ferociam . . . neu . . . aemulatione potentiae validiores irritaret*. He represents her *aequi impatiens, dominandi avida* (vi. 25).

the women divided the court, and gave rise to hatreds which the courtiers exacerbated.

Tiberius had recalled Germanicus from the shores of the Rhine in order to remain free to follow upon that frontier the policy of Augustus, — a policy which he had himself put in practice there. He permitted the general to enter Rome in triumph, his five children with him in his chariot and his captives behind them, among them Thusnelda, the widow of Arminius. The Emperor also erected a triumphal arch in his honor, and caused coins to be struck — some of which still exist — bearing this legend, designed to immortalize his glory: *Signis receptis*

devictis Germanis;² lastly, after distributing in the name of Germanicus three hundred sesterces apiece, he shared with him the consulate for the following year. Of this Germanicus did not take possession until he was sent into Greece, at the close of the year 17.

Since the time of Caius Caesar no member of the imperial family had been seen in the East. It was needful, however, that they should sometimes present themselves there. At this time the Parthians were again showing hostility. They had driven out Vonones, the king whom the Romans had given them, and put in his place the Arsacid Artabanus. Vonones, who had withdrawn into Armenia, caused himself to be proclaimed king there, and Artabanus was intending to pursue him thither. To avoid a war with the Parthians, the governor of Syria enticed Vonones into his province and detained him there. This was but a temporary solution, and Tiberius explained to the Senate the necessity of intervention. If the Roman power was not carried forward upon the Rhine, at least it must not be set back upon the Euphrates.⁴ Moreover, the old king of Cappadocia, who had



COIN COMMEMORATIVE OF THE VICTORIES OF GERMANICUS.¹



ARTABANUS III.³

¹ Germanicus in military costume, standing, his right arm raised and a sceptre in his hand. Bronze coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

² Eckhel, *Doctr. numor.* vi. 209; Tac., *Ann.* ii. 42.

³ From a silver coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

⁴ Josephus goes further; according to him (*Ant. Jud.* xviii. 3), — and he was well informed upon these points, — the new king of the Parthians had already established his own son upon the throne of Armenia.

formerly offended Tiberius, had just died at Rome, whither he had been summoned; his kingdom had been united to the Empire, and it was necessary to organize it as a province. Commagene and Cilicia Aspera, for some time without kings, were full of disorder;¹ Syria and Judaea clamored for a reduction of the tribute. "Germanicus alone," Tiberius said, "can calm by his wisdom the disturbances in the East, since I am now in the decline of life, and Drusus has not yet attained maturity." A decree of the Senate gave to the young general the government of the provinces beyond the sea, with power superior to that of all the governors. We may call it an exile if we choose, but we must admit that it conferred honor, and was in accordance with the true interests of the Empire.² Tiberius at the same time sent Drusus into Pannonia to keep watch upon the movements of the Suevi.

Himself at the seat of government, his two sons on the two endangered frontiers, and tranquillity resolutely maintained throughout the provinces, as well as in the allied states,—that is to say, domestic intrigues prevented, and foreign attacks warded off,—the Empire maintained a noble and worthy attitude: it was at once governed and protected; it gave peace and order; and to this the people of the provinces were able to add prosperity. As regards liberty, they already had in their municipia all that they were capable of exercising.

The task of Drusus was the simpler; it was only to look on quietly at the interior distractions of Germany which Tiberius had so well foreseen. Under the double pressure exercised by Rome along the Rhine and along the Danube, two powerful leagues had been formed,—in the north, that of the Cherusci, under Arminius and his uncle Inguiomar, an old warrior who in every engagement rivalled the younger chief in courage; in the south, that of the Marcomanni, under Maroboduus, who, at the head of eighty thousand soldiers, had spread terror and obedience around him. His conduct, or, as many Germans said, his treason, after the defeat of Varus, had detached from him many tribes. The

¹ Cilicia Aspera retained its own chiefs up to the time of Vespasian.

² Tacitus here condemns the suspicions which he afterwards favors on the question of the Emperor's complicity in the death of Germanicus, when he says: *Se tutiorem rebus, utroque filio legiones obtinente* (Ann. ii. 44).

Senones and the Longobardi, his allies, had gone over to the Cherusci; but Inguiomar, eclipsed by Arminius and angry at being reduced to serve under him, had presented himself with all his people in the camp of Maroboduus. Germany was now divided between these two men, who fought for the supreme power. The action was fierce, but indecisive. Maroboduus, drawing off first to the hills, confessed himself defeated; and he soon made his way into Bohemia and asked succor from the Emperor. "You have not aided us against the Cherusci," Tiberius said; "you have no right to count upon our assistance." However, he sent Drusus to finish by intrigue what had been prepared by arms,—the destruction of this great Barbarian kingdom. Maroboduus, disgraced by his defeat, saw his subjects revolt and his lieutenants betray him. A chief of the Gothones, Catualda, supported by Roman gold, and secretly summoned by the chiefs of the Marcomanni, successfully invaded their territory. Tiberius, with proud gratification, explained to the Senate the measures which had brought about the downfall of this formidable king, and showed the letters of Maroboduus asking permission to live in Roman territory.¹ Ravenna was assigned him as a place of residence. Catualda shortly after, being driven out by the Hermonduri, came also to beg an asylum, and was sent to Forum Julii (19 A. D.). The followers of these chiefs were separated from them lest their turbulence might cause trouble in these two cities, and they were allowed to establish themselves beyond the Danube in Moravia, where Vannius, the Quadian, was given them as king. Many Suevic tribes attached themselves to this little state, which was placed within reach of the legions and long remained faithful to the Empire.²

The power of the Marcomanni was destroyed, and that of the Cherusci gave way the same year. A chief of the Catti having offered to poison Arminius, Tiberius replied, as Fabricius had done: "It is not in the dark and by perfidy that the Romans avenge themselves, but openly and by arms." This ostentatious heroism had nothing dangerous in it: Arminius was now sur-

¹ *Laetiores Tiberio quia pacem sapientia firmaverat quam si bellum per acies confecisset* (Tac., *Ann.* ii. 64).

² *Ibid.* ii. 63.

rounded by enemies. Unduly elated by his early successes, he had thought to be a king, and now fell by the hand of his own people at the age of thirty-seven. In the eyes of Germany his death expiated his ambition, and he is remembered only as the liberator of his country. "He is still celebrated in song," says Tacitus, "by the Barbarians." Time made him almost a god. When Charlemagne penetrated into the sanctuary of the Saxons, he found the Irminsul, "the pillar of the world," a mysterious symbol representing at once the fatherland, the god, and the hero. In our own days poetry evokes his memory, modern bards have celebrated it, and his name recurs in war-songs composed against the new Empire of the West.

Germany, once so threatening, was now reduced to anarchy, given back to weakness and impotence. Policy had been more successful than arms in this instance. Tacitus should have owned that Tiberius had granted in advance his homicidal wish, when, in view of a battle-field where lay sixty thousand Barbarians slain by their brethren, the historian exclaims: "May the nations, since they love us not, at least persevere in their hatred of each other, since Fortune can give us nothing better than the discords among our foes!"²



GERMANICUS AND
ARTAXIAS.¹

In the East the same conduct had the same success. Germanicus travelled slowly, visiting famous places and celebrated sanctuaries: Actium, Delos, Athens, which with gratitude saw him enter her gates attended by only a single lictor; Samothrace, where he caused himself to be initiated into the Cabeiric mysteries; and Ilium, which was regarded as the cradle of Rome. Along his route he repressed the jealousies of cities, the tyrannical excesses of magistrates, and carried everywhere the watchword of the new government,—justice and peace. In Armenia he established as king Artaxias, the son of the king of Pontus, a faithful ally of the Empire, and with his own hand crowned the young prince in Artaxata. The choice was good; the case of Vonones had proved that Roman policy overshot the mark when it gave the

¹ Tac., *Germania*, 33.

² GERMANICUS ARTAXIAS. Germanicus standing, placing a tiara on the head of Artaxias. Silver coin. [A custom-house tariff, recently found at Palmyra, shows that this town was already in Tiberius's reign in a state of semi-subjection to the Empire. — ED.]

A more serious affair had commenced the preceding year (17 A.D.) in Africa. In this province the Romans had not met that religious opposition which underlies the most obstinate resistances; and the dissimilarity in manners had been softened by the neighborhood of Carthage and the influence of Graeco-Latin civilization. All the sea-coast was becoming Roman. But beyond the Atlas, in the deserts, were wandering nomads, to whom the prosperity of the Tell offered the liveliest temptations. A Numidian, a deserter from the legions, Tacfarinas, gathered in the mountains at first a few bandits, then a troop, and finally an army, which he trained after the Roman fashion. The Musulamii, on the edge of the desert, declared for him, persuaded their neighbors, the Mauri and the great tribe of the Cinithians to do the same, and carried fire and sword among the villages. The proconsul Camillus was obliged to march against them with a legion. Tacfarinas accepted battle, but, his Numidians being not yet well enough trained, he was defeated. Tiberius, gratified at the success of this energetic act, which restored security to one of the great corn-growing provinces, sent the triumphal insignia to the successful general. He also honored with the ovation Germanicus and Drusus, both of whom had gained victories of the kind dear to Tiberius, — those of policy, not of the sword.

In the midst of this prosperity, this condition of peace and renown, history places the most odious crime with which Tiberius is charged, the poisoning of Germanicus. In monarchical governments — as the inevitable result of the situation — there is always either a prince who seeks popularity, or one upon whom it is bestowed. This idol of the people, around whom all hopes centred, had been Marcellus, dead at the age of twenty, and then Drusus, dead at thirty, *breves et infaustos populi Romani amores*;¹ and it was now the young general of the army of the Rhine, pacifier of the East. Beloved by the soldiers for his courage and military tastes, by the literary men of Rome for his mental gifts,²

¹ A fine phrase, in which the poet-historian insinuates a suspicion, so much more occupied is he with the turn of his periods than with fidelity to the facts (*Ann.* ii. 41). It is known that Marcellus died of illness, possibly of medical maltreatment, and that Drusus was killed by a fall from his horse.

² Tac., *Ann.* ii. 83; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 24; *Epp. Pont.* IV. viii. 67. He composed Greek comedies, etc., (Weichert, *Imp. Aug. scriptor. reliqq.* p. 186). M. Egger is doubtful of this (*Hist. d'Aug.* p. 116).

by the crowd for his virtues, for his numerous and beautiful family, — by all, finally, for his moderation, his affable manners, and gentle conduct, — Germanicus, without consent or wish of his own, had become in the opinion of many the secret rival of Tiberius. The more men felt the power of the one, the more persistently they looked towards the other as the coming restorer of Roman liberty. The position thus falsely made for the two princes could not but suggest to popular credulity, in case of any fatal event, that drama which the gloomy imagination of Tacitus so eloquently repeats.

But a man like Tiberius, serious, reflective, circumspect, and, as Tacitus is forced to show him to us repeatedly in the Senate, completely master of himself, — a man like this commits no useless crime. The death of his adopted son was not an event which removed a dangerous rival, for he knew Germanicus to be incapable of treason; on the contrary, it deprived him of a much needed support. Germanicus alive, Germanicus faithful to the habits of obedience and the discipline introduced by Augustus into the imperial family, was an obstacle to the designs of ambitious or visionary men. Germanicus being dead, the way was open to guilty schemes and revolutions; for to his enemies' hopes Tiberius had nothing better to oppose than his son, the incapable Drusus. But when have men ever seen a personage of importance die in the flower of his age without believing in mysterious plots?¹ Here the instrument of the crime is said to have been Piso.

This man was a patrician of haughty and violent character, who considered himself as high in rank as the Emperor, of higher rank than Drusus and Germanicus, and whose fits of passion in the Senate we have already mentioned. He had been made governor of Syria while Germanicus was in the East. Tacitus maintains that the selection was made with intention. Piso and his wife Plancina, the confidante of Livia, knew the hatred of the old Empress for Agrippina, and Tiberius placed near the young general a vigilant guardian of the imperial interests. Perhaps exaggerating imprudent words, the husband and wife felt themselves encouraged to preserve no moderation or respect in their conduct towards

¹ Tacitus himself says, on the subject of another death: *Atrociore semper fama erga dominantium exitus* (*Ann.* iv. 11).

Germanicus and Agrippina. Did they go further? I find it difficult to accept the part assigned to this severe person, the son of a man whom Augustus had been obliged to solicit before he would deign to accept the consulship, and who himself had more than once manifested his independence in the presence of Tiberius. Even Tacitus at first dares not assert anything.¹ Germanicus had formed the design of visiting Egypt and its marvels. Although he made the journey without display, and as a private individual, it was none the less an infraction of the rules of Augustus.³ Tiberius reproved him sharply for setting an example of disobedience to the laws, but allowed him to finish his journey, and at that very moment caused the ovation to be decreed to him in recompense for his services in

COIN OF SELEUCIA.²SELEUCIA (PERSONIFIED).⁴

the East. Upon his return into Syria, Germanicus found all the arrangements that he had made changed by Piso. Violent altercations broke out between them, and the intractable governor, rather than yield, preferred to leave his province. The news of the severe illness of Germanicus arrested Piso at Antioch; but the recovery of the prince was quickly announced, and Piso, displeased at the rejoicings instituted

in consequence, continued his journey, and reached Seleucia, where the report of an alarming relapse again detained him. Among the persons surrounding Agrippina there was talk of poisoning. There had been found on the ground and along the walls of the palace dead men's bones, magic characters and talismans, leaden tablets

¹ He gives it to be understood that Germanicus was the victim of assassination, but is forced to avow that Piso exculpated himself completely in the trial.

² Mount Casius within a temple. This mountain, behind Seleucia, rises to a height of 5,315 feet.

³ Philo (*in Flacc.*) and Trebellius Pollio (*in Aemil.*) show that there was danger of a riot in Alexandria if any one should show himself there with the consular *fascēs* or with royal pomp. According to Cicero (*adv. Gub.*), this was an old claim of the Alexandrians, and Caesar relates (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 106) that the war he was obliged to carry on in Alexandria began on this pretext. We have here one of the rational and judicious reasons which caused Caesar and Augustus to decide that only knights could be prefects in Egypt. When Gallienus wished to appoint a proconsul to this office, the Egyptian priests opposed it, calling on the ancient right of the city. We have seen with what excess of precaution Augustus had decreed that, without his express permission, no senator should enter that province.

⁴ From a tetradrachm of that city.

with the name of Germanicus engraved on them, ashes moistened with blood, charred fragments, and other devices by which it was believed a victim could be most surely devoted to the infernal gods. Emissaries sent by Piso, who came to spy out the progress of the illness, made it manifest from whose hands the blow had come. So the friends of Germanicus said, but he repelled these suspicions. No man would write to his own murderer to renounce his friendship and break with him; but such was the letter which Germanicus addressed to Piso.¹ The malady assumed new forms, and a ray of hope was entertained; but suddenly Germanicus grew worse and expired, calling, according to Tacitus, upon his father to avenge his death, and advising his wife to abate her pride and relinquish her desire for power. He was but thirty-four years of age (October 10, 19 A. D.).²

¹ *Componit epistolas quis amicitiam ei renuntiabat* (Ann. ii. 70). Tacitus sees all things in a fashion so tragic, that, forgetting that the father of Germanicus had died from the effects of an accident, he dares to say of father and son: *Neque ob aliud interceptos quam quia populum Romanum aequo jure complecti reddita libertate agitaverint* (Ann. ii. 82).

² If we leave out of the account the words of the dying Germanicus, which are but a school declamation, — if we think it improbable that a man exhausted by repeated attacks of disease, should be capable of saying adieu to life with such eloquence and majesty (unless, like Julian, he had under his pillow a set discourse long since prepared for the occasion), — we shall find, as proofs of poisoning, only the following facts. In Tacitus: 1st, the hatred of Piso and Plancina towards Germanicus; 2d, magical incantations; 3d, the poison said to have been mixed by Piso in the food; — in Pliny (xi. 71) and in Suetonius (*Calig.* 1): 4th, the body of Germanicus covered with livid spots, foam at the mouth, and the fact that after the body was burned the heart was found unconsumed; in support of this theory are further adduced: 5th, the words of Tacitus: *Scriptissent expostulantes quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso abnuere*; 6th, the sudden death at Brundisium of Martina, a noted poisoner, just as she was about to be put on trial for the murder; 7th, a manuscript seen in the hands of Piso; 8th, the joy of Tiberius and Livia; 9th, the funeral of Germanicus, at which no pomp was displayed. The first of these arguments proves nothing; the second and fourth are ridiculous. That, to satisfy her hatred, Plancina, doubtless very credulous, like all the women of her time, should resort to sorcery, is by no means surprising; but from sorcery to poisoning is a long way. Many persons in the Middle Ages without remorse “bewitched” those whom they would not have dared to murder. The livid spots and foam at the mouth are by no means sure marks of poisoning; moreover, had these spots been visible Tacitus certainly would have said so, for the body was publicly exposed in Antioch. As to the third point, Tacitus himself undertakes its refutation; in illness produced by poison there is no intermittence; but Germanicus seemed to have recovered, and so completely that his family performed the vows they had made in his behalf, and he then again fell ill. Again, poisoning is a crime which can only be committed with the greatest secrecy. Piso, on the contrary, is mad with hate; he declares his resentment loudly, without caring, as his son says, for absurd suspicions and malevolent rumors. Tacitus indeed declares that the accusation appeared to be refuted: *Solum veneni crimen visus est diluisse; quod ne accusatores quidem satis firmabant, in convivio Germanici, quam super eum Piso discumberet, infectos manibus ejus cibos arguentes. Quippe absurdum videbatur inter aliena servitium et tot adstantium visu, ipso Germanico coram id ausum; offerebatque*

Before his body was burned, it was exposed uncovered in the forum of Antioch; Agrippina collected the ashes with pious care, and, though it was winter, at once embarked for Italy with the precious remains. As soon as her approach was signalled, the people of all the neighboring towns flocked to Brundisium. The funeral fleet entered the harbor slowly, with signs of mourning displayed, amid the silence of the sailors and of the waiting crowd. But when Agrippina was seen in long mourning garments, her eyes bent down, descending from her vessel, accompanied by two of her children, and carrying the sepulchral urn in her own hands, a great cry of grief broke forth from all the spectators. In the cities of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, and all along the road, the same grief was displayed. Tiberius had sent two praetorian cohorts to Brundisium. Drusus, and the children of Germanicus who had been left at Rome, and Claudius his brother, went as far as Terracina to meet the funeral train. But his mother, the venerable Antonia, and the Emperor remained in the palace;

familiam reus et ministros in tormenta flagitabat. It is impossible to give to the corrupt text quoted under No. 5 the significance which has been attached to it. (See Burnouf, notes *ad. Ann.* iii. 14.) No. 6: we do not know anything about this Martina, and can infer nothing from her death. No. 7: that a book was seen in the hands of Piso is a report of which Piso's testament effectually disposes. No. 8: if we may believe Tacitus, the Emperor and Livia both concealed their satisfaction; and he himself tells us that Tiberius was averse to the tumult of funeral solemnities. Josephus attests that after the death of Drusus he forbade access to his house, fearing that the grief of his son's friends, loudly manifested, would increase his own (*Ant. Jud.* xviii. 8). Dion cites another example of this (on the death of the Emperor's grandson), adding: "He thought that any other conduct was unworthy" (lvii. 14; cf. lvii. 22). Seneca (*Cons. ad Marc.* 3) extols Augustus as *victor dolorum*, as Saint-Simon and Voltaire praise the firmness of Louis XIV. in his afflictions. No. 9: the funeral was not without pomp; the story of Tacitus proves that it had all the splendor possible, if we remember that it was out of the question to make the ceremonies the same as in the case of Drusus under Augustus, since the two principal acts, the lying in state of the body and its cremation on the funeral pile, having been performed at Antioch, could not be renewed at Rome. In my judgment, Tiberius has, moreover, a very powerful advocate in that Antonia who is praised by Val. Maximus (iv. 3, 3), and by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* xviii. 6, 6) for the purity of her life and conduct; she was the mother of Germanicus, whose death so little affected her devotion to Tiberius that she saved the Emperor from the conspiracy of Sejanus (*ibid.* vi. 10), and that after the death of Tiberius she persuaded Caius to respect his grandfather's memory. This is not the conduct of a mother towards her son's murderer. Seneca, who was at Rome when Germanicus died, and must have learned all the details of the event through his friend Julia, the daughter of Agrippina, does not even allude to the crime (*Consol. ad Marc.* 15, and *Quaest. nat.* i. 1), and Suetonius (*Calig.* 1) is right when he says that Germanicus fell a victim to a lingering disorder; he adds only: "Not without suspicion of poison, and this suspicion was inevitable." Finally, among the recent works in regard to Tiberius, there are but few which sustain the old theory, so dear to scholars, of the poisoning of Germanicus.

and it is easy to understand that the one may have wished to conceal her maternal grief, and that the other — a man sad and severe — may have remained at a distance from the noisy demonstrations of the crowd, busy in considering the new perils which would arise from the loss of a faithful and indispensable lieutenant.

Tiberius had caused statues and arches of triumph to be erected to Germanicus at Rome, upon Mount Amanus and on the banks of the Rhine, and honors to be decreed him that a century later were still paid to the memory of the young general. But the



THE CHILDREN OF GERMANICUS:
CALIGULA, DRUSILLA, AGRIPPINA,
AND LIVILLA.¹

Emperor's enemies strove to prolong the period of public mourning, — a method of opposition at once safe and attractive. Agrippina especially, and her friends, wounded Tiberius by vague accusations aimed higher than at Piso; and stones were thrown at the imperial statues. In the end the Emperor, weary of these self-interested lamentations and all this clamor made to serve the secret ambitions of designing men, abruptly put an end to further manifestations by an edict in which he recalled to the public mind that other eminent men had died for the state, and that Rome had lost armies and had supported these disasters with more firmness. Grief for the death of

Germanicus did honor both to the people of Rome and to himself, provided it were kept within due limits; for there were manifestations of weakness unbecoming to a great empire and a sovereign people. "... Princes die, but the state is immortal; wherefore let the people return to their ordinary life, and even to their pleasures."

This last word was too much; although it was explained by the approach of the feast of Cybele, which it would be unbecoming

¹ Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 218. The authenticity of this sardonyx has been disputed because of the name Caligula behind the head of Caius, which name is never found on his coins. "But," says M. Chabouillet, "cameos had not the official character of coins" (*Catalogue général*, p. 35).

to neglect.¹ These stern words restored the city to its wonted habits; none the less, however, was the arrival of Piso expected with impatience. Expelled from his province by Germanicus, Piso had received with unbecoming joy the news of his death, and had immediately set out to return to Syria. But the Roman legates and senators who were scattered throughout the province at the time had conferred the supreme power upon one of their own number; Piso, however, did not recoil from a civil war. This error was his ruin; Tiberius could not pardon the man who disturbed the public tranquillity.² Piso, being defeated, was forcibly put on board a vessel destined for Italy; there his accusers awaited him. It was their wish that the Emperor should be the sole judge in this case.³

ANTONIA.⁴

Had Tiberius feared some compromising revelation, he would unquestionably have accepted the duty; but instead he assigned it to the Senate, coldly asking from them impartiality and justice. He himself was present; and the accused man, says Tacitus, with terror beheld the Emperor, without pity, without anger, impassive,

¹ The Megalesia, feast of the goddess-mother, began on the 4th of April. The *justitium*, or vacation of the tribunals, was proclaimed in advance; and this was doubtless the object of the edict.

² *Judices implacabiles erant: Caesar ob bellum provinciae illatum* (Ann. iii. 14).

³ Ann. iii. 10.

⁴ From a bust in the Museum of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 8.

inscrutable. It is the most faithful portrait of Tiberius that the historian has left us.¹

Piso killed himself in his own house; near his dead body was found a letter of manly tone, in which he acknowledged no other



APOTHEOSIS OF GERMANICUS.²

crime than that of having returned in arms into his province. Tiberius recompensed the three friends of Germanicus who had borne the part of accusers, solicited for Nero, the eldest of his sons, permission to present himself as candidate for the quaestorship five

¹ He appeared the same on receiving news of the Gallie insurrection (*Ann.* iii. 44 and 47), and in the judgment of Libo: . . . *immoto vultu . . . libellos et auctores recitat . . . ita moderans ne lenire neve asperare crimina videretur* (*Ann.* ii. 29). Philo (*Leg. ad Caium*, p. 1034 d) says also of Tiberius: οὐκ ἐύληπτος ὦν ὀργῇ.

² This cameo (about four inches square) is one of the treasures of the French *Cabinet des Antiques*. It is believed to have been brought from Constantinople in the eleventh century by Cardinal Humbert, who gave it to the monastery of Saint-Evre, near Toulouse. Germanicus, crowned by a victory and borne by an eagle, holds the *lituus* in one hand and a cornucopia in the other. Cf. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général*, p. 35, and No. 209.

years before the legal age, and married him to the daughter of Drusus (20). When the second of the sons of Germanicus assumed the *toga virilis* (23), he procured for him the same privilege; and to confirm Drusus in his favorable attitude towards his nephews, the Emperor praised him at much length in the Senate for the paternal solicitude he had manifested towards his brother's children.¹ Certain senators wishing the Emperor to consecrate an altar to Vengeance and a statue to Mars Ultor, he refused to do it. "Let us reserve monuments," he said, "for victories over foreign enemies, and hide our domestic misfortunes in grief and silence."

II. — ADMINISTRATION OF TIBERIUS; SEJANUS; DEATH OF DRUSUS.

THIS long drama being ended, Tiberius returned to the cares of government. Complaint being made of the excessive severity of the Papian-Poppæan law, he appointed fifteen commissioners to mitigate its requisitions and to repress the avidity of informers.² The aediles desired a sumptuary law. "Let men first correct themselves," he said, with the authority of good sense; "good morals are worth more than ineffectual laws."³ And if he could not restore the habits of virtue, he at least chastised vice when it displayed itself with too much effrontery. "He re-established," says Suetonius (chap. xxxv.), "the old custom of causing an assembly of the relatives to pronounce by unanimous vote the sentence on women who had violated their marriage vows and who had not been prosecuted by public accusers. He freed from his oath a Roman knight who, having sworn never to repudiate his wife, was not able to send her away, although he had surprised her in adultery. Certain matrons, to relieve themselves from an inconvenient dignity and free themselves from the law, had caused their names to be inscribed on the list of courtesans; some young libertines of good family had caused themselves to be branded with infamy by the tribunals, so that afterwards they could appear upon the stage or in the arena: and all these persons Tiberius sent into exile." He required from the magistrates a

¹ Tac., *Ann.* iv. 4.

² Tac., iii. 28; Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, xxiii. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 55.

respectable life. A quaestor, having drawn lots for a wife, married her, and on the following day divorced her: the Emperor deprived him of his office. A senator quitting Rome, by a contemptible trick, about the calends of July, and returning when the quarter-day was passed, in order to obtain a house at cheaper rent, the Emperor degraded him from his rank; and to another, who was squandering his property, he assigned a guardian.¹

Finding his authority sufficiently extensive, he rejected, without hypocrisy or pretence of moderation, whatever additions were proposed. A senator wishing to extend the imperial prerogative to the selection of governors, he refused it.² The Senate had the selection of the proconsul for Africa; but a soldier being needed in that province, disturbed by the incursions of Tacfarinas, the Conscript Fathers desired the Emperor to make the appointment. He complained of this, and would do no more than designate two persons between whom the Senate should decide. Asia and Cyrene accusing their governors of extortion, the latter were tried and condemned. The abuse of the right of asylum in temples had brought about endless disturbances, of which the least was the impunity of the guilty. An energetic measure might, perhaps, among the Oriental peoples have caused outbreaks. Tiberius demanded a serious investigation, and remitted this important affair to the Senate. "A day more august and splendid," says Tacitus, "cannot be figured to the imagination. We now behold a Roman Senate sitting in judgment on the grants of the old Republic; discussing the treaties and conventions of confederate nations; deliberating on the acts of kings while kings were able to make a stand against the power of Rome; and, above all, reviewing the

¹ There were few modifications of the civil law under Tiberius. We have spoken elsewhere of the Junian-Norbanian law (19 A. D.), which was connected with the measures introduced by Augustus relative to the condition of the freedmen. A senatus-consultum of the year 20 introduced an amelioration for slaves. "*Si servus reus postulabitur, eadem observanda sunt quae si liber esset*" (*Digest*, xlviii., fr. 12, sec. 3). Under the Republic the penalty was arbitrary, and always heavier for the slave than for the free man. In the penal law of the emperors, the slave was always treated like the free man of low degree, *humilior*, because *natura est communis* (*Ibid.* sec. 4). Another senatus-consultum increased the civil penalties against bachelors; and the Libonian decree organized the theory of prohibitions against those who, even at the dictation of the testator, wrote in the will a legacy in their favor (cf. *Cod.* ix. 23). Lastly, Tiberius deprived of the right of making a will, those to whom fire and water had been interdicted (*Dion*, lvii. 22).

² *Ann.* iii. 68.

various systems of religions which had been for ages established in the belief of mankind. These were the important subjects; and the Senate met with authority to inquire, and liberty to determine." In the year 22 the Emperor asked for his son Drusus the office of tribune; the Senate added to it all the honors that flattery could invent; Tiberius declined them with a dignified moderation. The famous Junia, niece of Cato, wife of Cassius, and sister of Brutus, died this same year, leaving legacies to all the great personages in Rome; Tiberius, whose name she had omitted from her will,—a neglect insulting according to Roman usage,—permitted her funeral, nevertheless, to be observed with solemn pomp, and the images of twenty noble families to be borne in the procession. Those of Brutus and Cassius are lacking, and Tacitus complains of this. He is right if Tiberius required this posthumous exile; but it is hardly credible that the Emperor could have feared these two dead men appearing in a funeral ceremony.

On the other side will perhaps be cited those accusations of treason,—the phantom which haunts and troubles the minds of historians. Some there were, and they are these. Drusus falls ill;



¹ This statue, of Greek marble, represents a Roman of the first century in the character of Mars the Avenger, rather than the god himself (Museum of the Louvre. Cf. Fröhner, *Notice*, etc., No. 128).

a poet who had been recompensed for his verses on the death of Germanicus, composes others on that of the Emperor's son. But the young prince recovers; and the foolish poet, instead of consigning his verses to oblivion, dares to read them publicly. These words concerning death are to Roman superstition a presage of evil, and since they may bring misfortune, are a crime. The poet is accused, and the Senate, all in one day, condemns and executes him. Tiberius, at the time absent from Rome, was full of dis-

ANUBIS.³

pleasure, complained that the transaction was too hurried,¹ that he should have pardoned the offender; and his reproaches were so much in earnest that a decree inspired by him ordered that henceforth there should be an interval of ten days between the sentence and its execution.² A knight was complained of for having made a silver statue of Tiberius serve for divers usages; but the Emperor would not allow the complaint to be received. Capito basely objected to this indulgence on the part of Tiberius; but the latter persisted.⁴ Repeatedly he had forbidden prosecutions on account of words used against the imperial family,⁵ for as yet he did not at all encourage informers.⁶ Two of them, although belonging to the equestrian order, were punished for bringing a false accusation;⁷ another denouncing the senator Lentulus, Tiberius rose and said that he should believe himself unworthy longer to live if Lentulus were his enemy.⁸

¹ Josephus says that no man was ever so slow as Tiberius in all things. Μελλητῆς εἰ καὶ τις ἑτέρων βασιλέων ἢ τυράννων γενόμενος (*Ant. Jud.* xviii. 6, 5). These are the very words of Tacitus: *Insula etiam in extraneos cunctatione et mora* (*Ann.* iv. 11).

² *Ibid.*, iii. 50, and Dion, lvii. 20.

³ Museum of the Louvre.

⁴ *Ann.* iii. 70. He was more severe in what concerned Augustus; to dress one's self in the presence of the latter's statue, or to break it, became a crime. But the informers did not long accept the reservations he had imposed upon himself.

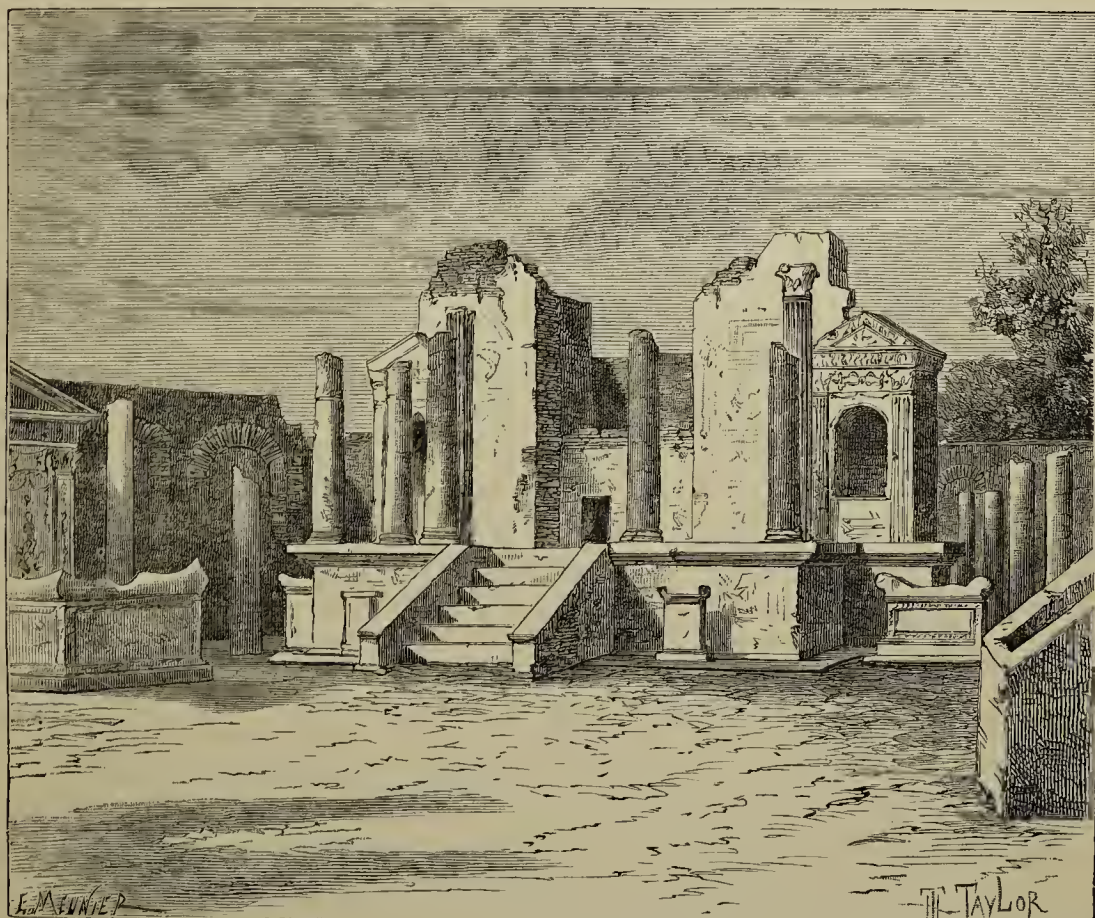
⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 22, and elsewhere.

⁶ The Roman law unfortunately admitted confiscation, and accorded a share to the informers, — in accusations of treason, a fourth, according to Tacitus (*Ann.* iv. 20); an eighth according to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* xix. 16: τὰς ὀγδόας τῶν οὐσιῶν). Hence this class of persons swarmed in Rome. Tacitus says of Tiberius (*Ann.* iii. 56): *ingruentes accusatores represserat*. Suetonius (*Tib.* 28) and Dion (lvii. 9) affirm that in the first half of his reign he did not make an unjust use of sentences of treason. During this period we have no instance of any man being punished solely for an offence against the person of the ruler.

⁷ *Ann.* iii. 37.

⁸ This was in the year 24 (Dion, lvii. 24). In 21 a woman who believed herself at liberty to insult any one, because she always wore an image of the Emperor, was sent by Drusus to prison (*Tac., Ann.* iii. 36).

His justice was stern and equal towards all, even the gods. A young knight had deceived a matron in the temple of Isis, passing himself off, by aid of the priests, for the god Anubis; Tiberius caused the temple to be destroyed, the statue of the goddess to be thrown into the Tiber, and the priests to be crucified.¹ During this year four Jews—robbers, according to the testimony of their fellow-countryman, Josephus—had converted the wife of a



TEMPLE OF ISIS AT POMPEII.²

noble Roman, and extorted from her much purple and gold, under pretext of gifts to the temple of Jerusalem. The husband denounced them to Tiberius; and the Emperor, not much concerned about dogmas, and seeing only public order scandalously violated, forbade the practice of foreign cults at Rome. "Four thousand Jews, the descendants of freedmen, and of military age, were enrolled, and sent into Sardinia against the freebooters, of that island.

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 3, 4, and 5.

² From an engraving in the National Library (Paris).

For the rest was fixed a date on which to quit Italy or to abandon their profane rites."¹ This was severe, many innocent persons suffering along with the few guilty; but religious toleration was not a virtue of those days. Moreover, the Jews, not having Roman citizenship, were legally at the discretion of the government; and even to this day, modern governments are at liberty to expel foreigners from their territory.

The old Latin rites were not more respected by Tiberius. He did not like to have men addressing indiscreet questions to the gods, and the oracles were objects of suspicion to him, — not without reason, for they were no longer an instrument of government, and might even be employed by its enemies. He strove to destroy their credit, forbade that the auspices should be consulted except in the presence of witnesses, and himself examined the famous Praenestine Lots, to which some of their old authority was still attached. He had the coffer sealed in which were contained the slips of wood, drawn by a child at random, each slip bearing a letter, and the re-union of these letters into words forming the response given to the question proposed. This coffer was brought to the Emperor. When he opened it the slips had disappeared; but on being returned to Praeneste, they were again in their place.² "Terrified by the divine authority of the Praenestine Lots," says his credulous biographer, "the Emperor abandoned his design of suppressing the oracles in the neighborhood of the city." Tiberius was not the man to be alarmed by such a thing; but he had made an attack upon those who were more adroit than himself, and for once he had been outwitted.

Tiberius seemed at that time an administrator of justice, severe but impartial, inexorable for judges as well as for the accused, and combating with all his efforts that old evil of the Roman world, the venality of the tribunals. "He would come," says Suetonius, "and offer himself to advise the magistrates, seating himself beside them on the bench. Or sometimes, if he learned that partiality was about to save a criminal, he would suddenly

¹ Tac., *Ann.* ii. 85, and Josephus, *ibid.* Seneca says (*Ep. ad. Luc.* 108): Under Tiberius *alienigenarum sacra movebantur*.

² Suet., *Tib.* 63. Dion (lvi. 25) attributes to Augustus the prohibition against consulting the soothsayers except in the presence of witnesses. It was a political measure, and may have belonged to both emperors.

appear and remind the judges of their oath and of the laws, and the crime that they had to punish." Tacitus supports with his testimony these words of the biographer of the Caesars; he shows the Emperor repressing the intrigues and solicitations of the nobles,¹ and he adds: "So justice was saved, but liberty was lost." But what a liberty! The liberty to suborn justice or to sell it! And yet we are tempted to agree with him; for the ruler to-day interposing in behalf of the law, may to-morrow interpose against it. But Tiberius was perpetual tribune, and as such was obliged to receive appeals, and had the right of arresting by his veto the execution of sentences and even the results of suits; and, finally, antiquity having no knowledge of what we call the division of powers, the Romans were no more offended by the presence of the Emperor in a court of justice than were our feudal ancestors to see the king decide on cases, even seated under an oak.²

Economical of the public money as well as of his own,³ Tiberius diminished expenses, increased receipts, and by his punctuality in the payment of the army, and his largesses to the people in cases of need, he prevented all seditious movements.⁴ The miser even sometimes became generous; but his generosity needed a motive of public interest. Verrucosus entreats Tiberius to pay his debts; and the latter consents on condition that Verrucosus give him the list of his creditors. Others make the same request; and the Emperor exacts from them that they render an account of the condition of their affairs to the Senate, and he then pays their debts. Seneca complains of this; "it is no longer a benefit," he says.⁵ But ought the public treasury to grant relief on any other terms? If Tiberius consented to aid the senator in order to save the honor of the Senate, he wished to chastise the prodigal by public disgrace, and he was right. In the year 27 fire overran

¹ *Adversus ambitum et potentium preces* (Ann. i. 75); cf. Suet., *Tib.* 33; Dion, lvii. 7; Vell. Patereulus, ii. 129.

² To give judgments was, in fact, one of the most important of the imperial functions. Suetonius says of Augustus (*Octav.* 33): *Jus dixit assidue et in noctem nonnunquam.*

³ Ἐλάχιστα ἐς αὐτὸν δαπανῶν (Dion, lvii. 10).

⁴ Tac., *Ann.* i. 75. Under Tiberius the importations of corn were greater than under Augustus (Tac., *Ann.* vi. 13).

⁵ *De Benef.* ii. 7, 8. See, for his aid to private individuals, Tac., *Ann.* ii. 37, 86; Suet., *Tib.* 47; Dion, lvii. 10.

the whole of the Caelian hill; the Emperor compensated all the losers. Every one was astonished, for those who suffered by the fire were nearly all of them men of low class.¹ Tiberius had not concerned himself about their station. Disdaining popularity as he disdained honors, he had succored the unfortunate probably without any feeling of pity for them, but simply as he did other things,—from a spirit of government. The law gave him the property of condemned persons; but he frequently restored it to their heirs, nor would he accept the legacies often made him, to the detriment of their children, by persons who were in no way connected with himself.²

In the provinces he maintained a wise administration by his skilful selection of officials, by his perseverance in retaining in their positions those who had been found faithful, and by his severity against evil-doers. Many of the provinces had still the same governors whom he had appointed upon his accession,³ and not a single one of those accused of extortion is known to have escaped;⁴ he even went so far as to hold them responsible for the offences of which their wives were guilty, acting in their names.⁵

There were, however, troubles in Thrace,—acts of brigandage, rather than of war,⁶ between the different tribes; and it did not cost the Romans a man to bring all back to order again. In Gaul there was a beginning of revolt. Florus, one of the Treviri, essayed to stir up the Belgae, and Sacrovir the Aeduan agitated the Gauls of Celtica. The pretext was the burden of tributes, the

¹ Tac., *Ann.* iv. 64. Tiberius had already in the year 16 furnished assistance in a parallel case (*Dion*, lvii. 16). Later, he gave on a similar occasion a hundred million sesterces.

² Tac., *Ann.* ii. 48; *Dion*, lvii. 17. Tacitus even extols his disinterestedness, *satis firmus, ut saepe memoravi, adversus pecuniam* (*Ann.* iii. 18); and *Dion* adds (lvii. 10): "He put no man to death in order to obtain his property . . . and never amassed money by unjust conduct."

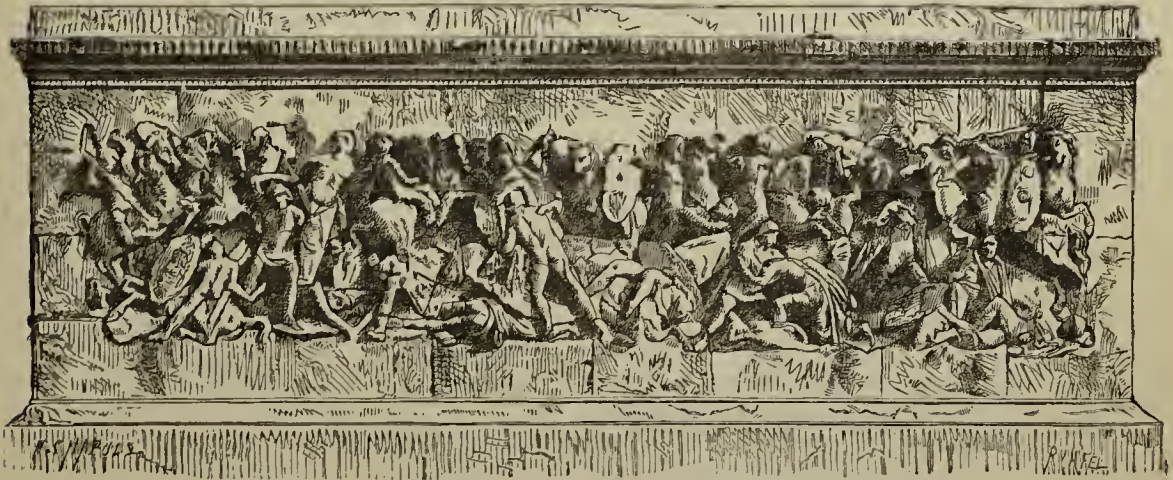
³ Like Gratus, who remained eleven years in Judaea (*Josephus*, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 3). *Id morum Tiberii fuit continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitae in iisdem exercitibus aut jurisdictionibus habere* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 80).

⁴ In the year 22 Silanus, governor of Asia, and Cordus, governor of the Cyrenaica, were condemned (*Ann.* iii. 68, 70). Marcellus, governor of Bithynia, certainly did not escape (*Ibid.* i. 74). Tacitus is angry at this; *non enim Tiberius, non accusatores fatiscebant* (*Ann.* iii. 38). Upon all these prosecutions see Tac., *Ann.* i. 74; iii. 38, 66, 70; iv. 15, 18, 19, 31, 36; vi. 29. We may also notice that complaints always came from the senatorial, not the imperial provinces. With the exception of one procurator, all the accused governors named by Tacitus were of the senatorial order.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Ann.* iii. 40.

severity of governors and of creditors, — reasons difficult to reconcile with the picture at the same time drawn by them, to kindle men's courage, of the prosperity of Gaul and the destitution of Italy. But they knew not how to concert their action. A premature movement of the Andecavi and the Turones was repressed by a single cohort. Florus, penned up in the Ardennes and tracked by one of his own countrymen, who pursued him into the depths of these forests, destroyed himself. Sacrovir caused more alarm; he induced the Aeduans and Sequani to follow him, took Autun, and gathered forty thousand men, — of whom, it is true, not more than a fifth part were armed. Two of the legions of the Rhine suddenly fell upon the province; for a half century the Gauls had



COMBAT BETWEEN THE GAULS OF SACROVIR AND THE ROMANS.²

so completely unlearned the art of war that there was not even a battle, but a massacre. Sacrovir and his friends, who had taken refuge in a villa, killed one another after having set fire to the building (21 A. D.).¹ The arch at Orange commemorated this easy victory.

At Rome there was a moment of alarm and much clamor. Tiberius alone did not suspend his labors; he did not even deign to speak of this war until after it was ended. Then he announced to the Senate the revolt, and also the suppression of it, taking nothing from the truth, adding to it nothing. The measures that

¹ Tac., *Ann.* iii. 43.

² Bas-relief from the arch at Orange. See paper by M. de Sauley in the *Journal des Savants* for 1880 on this arch, commemorating the Roman victory.

he had taken, he said, and the fidelity and courage of his lieutenants had been sufficient for everything. He then explained why neither he nor Drusus had gone into Gaul. He alleged the great extent of the Empire, which did not suffer its rulers to quit, for some disturbances in a city or two, the capital, whence they kept watch over the entire state. "A senator proposed that Tiberius, on his return from Campania, should enter the city with the splendor of an ovation. This occasioned a letter from Tiberius



THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH AT ORANGE.

to the Senate, wherein he observed, that after conquering fierce and warlike nations, and having in his youth received and declined triumphal honors, he was not such a novice to glory as to desire in the evening of his days the vain parade of a public entry for an excursion that was little more than a party of pleasure to the suburbs of Rome." On which side were good sense, dignity, and political wisdom?

Tacitus narrates the Gallic insurrection without telling of the

repression which followed it, or of the measures taken to prevent its recurrence. The executions were certainly numerous; the Druids in particular suffered. Augustus had Latinized their gods and suppressed their privileges and their assemblies. To prevent them from speaking in the name of Heaven to minds easily excited by such appeals, Tiberius prohibited their bloody ceremonies. The practice of the rites peculiar to Druidism was identified with the crime of magic, which for a provincial involved the penalty of death.¹ This was the penalty decreed by the Twelve Tables against enchanters, and later had been applied by the Senate during the Republic to the abettors of the Bacchanals.² There had been no general persecution because there had been no search (*inquisitio*) ordered against those who practised the old cult; and if a certain number of Druids, instigators of the late revolt or proved despisers of the new law, perished, many were able to escape by silence or by the obscurity of their lives. Thus are explained the contradictory passages in authors who date the abolition of the old Gallic religion from the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius, and in those who show the Druids still existing in Gaul two or three centuries later. The gods die before their altars fall, and traces of the Druidic faith have remained amidst Roman polytheism, as so many pagan rites have survived paganism. Religions which disappear always leave behind them the lasting mementos of their passage.

We must now direct our attention to another part of the world. Tacfarinas had reappeared in Africa, and had besieged in a fort a Roman cohort which, by an imprudent sortie, had given the place up to him. Encouraged by this success, he ventured to attack the city of Thala. But the proconsul had decimated the cohort which had suffered itself to be defeated, and had so well re-established discipline by that severity that five hundred veterans repulsed in an encounter the entire forces of the enemy. Upon this, Tacfarinas changed his tactics; he gave up the plan of sieges, divided his army into small bands, attacked and fell back as soon

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxx. 4, 3; *Digest*, xlviii. 8, 13: *Ex. sc. ejus legis* (Cornelia de Sicariis) *poena damnari jubetur, qui mala sacrificia fecerit, habuerit.* Tiberius caused this law against human sacrifices to be enforced throughout the Empire. See, on this point, p. 173.

² See Vol. II. pp. 305 *sqq.*

as he was pressed, only to reappear elsewhere, mocking at the Romans and their vain pursuit. His audacity at last was such that he sent deputies to Tiberius, and, treating with him as one power with another, made known to the Emperor that the latter must yield him a position or else expect an interminable war. Tiberius replied by sending into Africa a skilful general, Blaesus, the uncle of Sejanus, who combated the ubiquitous Numidian by a scheme of tactics resembling his own. He divided his forces into small light bands, putting at their head centurions of tried valor with good guides, built small forts to support their movements, as



COIN OF
PTOLEMY.¹



PORTA AUREA AT RAVENNA.²

the French army erected blockhouses against the Arabs, and kept his troops in the field even during the winter. Tacfarinas escaped; but his brother was made prisoner, and tranquillity appeared to be re-established. Tiberius sent to Blaesus the insignia of the triumph, and allowed his soldiers to proclaim him *imperator*. This was the last time a general received that title.

¹ *Cabinet de France.*

² From an engraving in the National Library (Paris).

Ptolemy, the king of Mauretania, had faithfully served Rome during this war. The matter being fully reported to the Senate, there was renewed in his favor a custom of ancient times: a senator brought to him the ivory sceptre and embroidered robe, and in the name of the Emperor and the Senate saluted him with the title of king, and friend of the Roman people.

Tiberius had now been in power nine years, and his administration had been advantageous to the state. Let us hear Tacitus: "The following is the statement presented by the Emperor to the Senate of the forces of the Empire and the provinces where the legions were. Italy had a fleet upon each of the two seas, one at Misenum, the other at Ravenna, not to mention the galleys at Forum Julii protecting the coast of Narbonensis. Eight legions on the Rhine restrained at once the Germans and the Gauls; Spain was guarded by three legions; Mauretania by King Juba. In the rest of Africa, two legions, as many more in Egypt, and four only in that vast country extending west of the Euphrates to those kingdoms of the Albanians and Iberians which our power protects against neighboring empires. Rhoemetalees and the sons of Cotys governed Thraee; two legions in Pannonia and the same number in Moesia defended the passage of the Danube; and two others in Dalmatia were in a position to support the former or hasten to the defence of Italy, as the case might require. Rome had its special troops, — three urban cohorts and nine praetorian cohorts, — levied for the most part in Etruria, Umbria, Latium, or the early Roman colonies. The fleets of the allies and their infantry and cavalry, which formed in the whole a body of troops nearly equal to the Roman army, were distributed, as they might be needed, in the provinces; but there was nothing certain either in respect to their destination or their number, which varied continually.

COIN OF JUBA II.¹

"In the government, public affairs and the more serious concerns of private individuals were treated in the Senate; in dis-

¹ On the obverse, the king's head; on the reverse, Africa, the head covered with the usual symbol, — an elephant's head.

cussions the customary order was observed. If the orators fell into adulation, Tiberius stopped them at once. In distributing honors, he had regard to birth, military services, and civil talent, so that no selections could have been better made. The consuls and the praetors enjoyed the ancient honors of their rank and dignity, and the inferior magistrates exercised their functions without contest. In respect to the laws, that concerning treason alone excepted, good use was made of them; the supplies of the armies, the taxes, and the other public revenues were managed by commissioners chosen from the Roman knights. For administration of his private revenues, the Emperor made choice of the most esteemed men, some personally unknown to him and merely upon their reputation. Once chosen, he changed them with reluctance, and most of them grew old in their offices. The people suffered often from the high price of grain; but this was not the fault of Tiberius. He spared neither care nor expense to guard against bad harvests and those accidents of the sea which placed, as he himself said, the life of the Roman people at the mercy of the winds and waves. He took care that the provinces should not be burdened with any new taxes, and that the original ones should not be made heavier by the avarice or cruelty of the governors. He forbade corporal punishments and confiscations.¹

"The Emperor's domains in Italy were not extensive; good order prevailed among his slaves, and his freedmen were few in number. If he had a dispute with private individuals, the tribunals and the laws decided the case. It is true that his manners were not amiable, that he was unsocial, and usually inspired fear; he continued, however, in the practice of rigid, though not pleasing, manners, until the death of Drusus; after that all was changed."

This revolution, taking place at a fixed moment in the life and habits of Tiberius, is suspicious. For a young man it would

¹ *Ann.* vi. 5-7. Elsewhere, in a few expressive words, Tiberius compares this prosperity with the evils of past times: *Multa duritiae veterum melius et laetius mutata; neque enim ut olim obsideri urbem bellis aut provincias hostiles esse.* Cf. Philo, *Leg. ad C.*, 993 b.; Strabo, vi. 288: "Never before had the Romans and their allies known such a wealth of good things;" Vell. Paterc., ii. 126: *Vindicatae ab injuriis magistratuum provinciae*; and Dion, lvii. 23. In the discourse at Lyons, Claudius says (col. 11, 4) that Tiberius had called many provincials into the Senate.

be hardly credible; but it becomes incomprehensible in the case of a man of sixty-five, for nine years master of the supreme power, hence free for the past nine years to abandon himself without restraint to his passions. "His manners, like his fortune," says Tacitus,¹ "had their revolutions and their distinctive periods. Amiable while a private man, and in the highest employments under Augustus esteemed and honored, during the lives of Drusus and Germanicus he played an artificial character, concealing his vices and assuming the exteriors of virtue. After their decease and while his mother lived, good and evil were equally blended in his character. Detested for his cruelty, he had the art, while he loved or feared Sejanus, to throw a veil over his most depraved and vicious appetites. All restraint being at length removed, he broke out without fear or shame, and during the remainder of his life, hurried away by his own unbridled passions, made his reign one scene of lust and cruelty and horror." These divisions are ridiculous. A nature so strongly tempered as that of Tiberius is not subject in mature age to these periodical metamorphoses. If we are shown that the situation has changed, that dangers are increasing, we shall then understand how fears, suspicions, and cruelty spring up and grow. We shall then have the regular development of a situation bad from the beginning, and of a character inclined to extreme severity, and not a series of spectacular changes such as are seen only upon the stage.

Like Louis XI., and like all rulers placed in the presence of a powerful aristocracy, Tiberius took pleasure in governing by means of men of low station.³ He cannot always refuse office to the nobles, but, having satisfied their vanity, he often retains them



GOLD COIN OF VULSINI
(BOLSENA).²

¹ *Ann.* vi. 51.

² Coins of the British Museum and of the Museum of Gotha, published by the *Revue archéol.*, 1879, pl. xvi.

³ One day when the Emperor had preferred as candidate for the praetorship one Curtius Rufus, who was believed to be the son of a gladiator, to the most noble personages in Rome, he made answer to those who were surprised at the unsuitable choice: "Rufus is the son of his own deeds" (*Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus.* Tac., *Ann.* xi. 21). As a matter of course Tacitus is much displeased; he is ashamed to relate it (*vera exsequi pudet*).

in Rome, sending lieutenants to administer their provinces.¹ The only favorite that he ever had was a mere knight, Aelius Sejanus, born in the Etruscan city of Vulsinii, whose father, near the close of the reign of Augustus, had commanded the praetorian guard. Associated with his father by Tiberius in the year 14, he remained sole praetorian prefect when his father obtained the government of Egypt, and he gained the Emperor's affection by his absolute devotion, his indefatigable activity, and his wise counsels.² Tiberius could have no doubt of the fidelity of the man who, when all fled, alone remained and saved the Emperor's life by supporting a roof which was falling upon his head;³ accordingly, he bestowed upon him the utmost confidence: in the Senate and before the people he called Sejanus the companion of his labors; he consulted him as to the distribution of honors and provinces, and he permitted in the theatre, the Forum and the camps, that the statues of his minister should be placed beside his own.

In the Roman world Sejanus represents those viziers of the East who employ years in surrounding their master with invisible bonds, which one day they suddenly tighten. Having attained so high a place, he wished to rise still higher; and seeing the noblest and proudest become his clients,⁴ he believed that between him and the imperial throne there was only this old man and his children. Doubtless no man loved them; but for the greater number they were the standard of peace and order, around which the Empire had rallied. This standard beaten down, immediately would reappear anarchy, murder, and civil war. The dread of these evils made the legitimacy of the Caesars; and it long protected such monsters as Caligula, Nero, and Commodus. Nor was it easy to surprise the suspicious old man, who saw clearly in the night, says Suetonius, and whose look pierced even more acutely the darkness of an intrigue. Sejanus, therefore, was playing a game of intrigue with him.

The minister had command of the praetorian guards. The nine cohorts, dispersed through the city and suburbs, and even in

¹ Tac., *Ann.* i. 80, and vi. 27.

² *Corpus illi laborum tolerans* (*Ann.* iv. 1). *Bonis consiliis notescere volebat* (*ibid.* 7).

³ This happened in the year 26 (*Tac., Ann.* iv. 59).

⁴ Tiberius writes to him (*Ann.* iv. 40): *Magistratus et primores, qui te invito perrumpunt omnibusque de rebus consulunt.*

the adjacent villages, were losing their discipline. He gathered them into a fortified camp between the two roads which led away from the Viminal and Colline gates,¹ and he showed this camp to Tiberius as the fortress whence the ruler could hold the Senate and the great city under the fear of a military execution. But this union of ten thousand picked soldiers in one place might also serve ambitious designs. Sejanus often visited the praetorians; he knew the men by their names; he chose their centurions and tribunes; and they were rather his body-guard than that of the exile of Capri.

His first victim was the Emperor's own son. Drusus, in a quarrel, had struck Sejanus in the face. The latter could not take open revenge; but he corrupted the wife of Drusus—a woman already depraved and guilty—by feigning a violent passion for her, and, holding her by vice and crime, persuaded her to poison her husband. The blow was very great for Tiberius; for some time he forbade all whom his son had loved to appear in his presence, as the sight of them renewed his grief.² He came, however, into the Senate, there to seek, he said, among the supports of the state the consolations which courage could furnish; and he showed them his mother tottering under the burden of years, his grandchildren still under age, and himself in the decline of life. The children of Germanicus were now his sole hope. He then requested that they should be brought to him. The two consuls led them into the curia, and Tiberius, taking them by the hand, says, "Behold, Conscript Fathers, these orphans whom, after their father's death, I intrusted to their uncle, conjuring him, although he had already children of his own, to bring these up as if they were his own, and render them worthy of him and of posterity. Drusus is dead, and I now address to you my prayers. It is you that I beg, in the presence of the gods and of the Roman people, to watch over these grandchildren of Augustus, these scions of the noblest families. And you, Nero and Drusus, regard them as your fathers, remembering that, by

¹ The remains of this camp are seen near the Nomentan gate (Aurelian's wall). It is now the *Campo militare*. Later there was a second camp at Albano. Cf. Henzen, *La Legione Ia Parthica*.

² Tac., *Ann.* iv. 3. Dion (lvii. 14) gives a sad portrait of Drusus.

reason of your birth, your vices as well as well as your virtues are matters which concern the state."

It is a noble scene and a touching picture. The Emperor, in his old age broken by domestic afflictions, having only these young orphans to whom he can turn,—these lads, upon whom rests the peace of the world,—and this weeping assembly, gathering around the young princes whom their grandfather thus intrusts to the state!¹ Why should this confidence and these noble words, which at the moment were sincere, be soon so cruelly falsified? In these senators, now animated by a common and pious emotion, how many victims and murderers we behold! These boys will perish by the same hand that now caresses them, and this old man, who until now has only been severe and just, will live to become an object of terror.

Tiberius returned to public affairs, seeking amid the cares of government² the sole consolation which his active mind, severe towards himself as towards others, could find. He repressed a revolt of slaves, expelled from Italy the play-actors, "whose licentious and obscene fares," he said, "the Conscrip Fathers ought to punish," and in all things exhibited an inflexible spirit of justice. The Senate having proposed merely to banish from Italy a former quaestor convicted of receiving bribes, Tiberius insisted upon the sentence being one of exile. Another senator, a *protégé* of Livia, had thrown his wife from the roof of his house and asserted that she had committed suicide. The Senate hesitated; the Emperor went to the scene of the tragedy, examined the place carefully, and detected traces of a violent struggle, upon which the guilty man opened his veins. One of the imperial procurators in Asia was prosecuted for excesses in the use of power, and the Emperor abandoned him to the Senate.³ This assembly still treated of all public matters. In order to augment its dignity, Tiberius consented that the cities of Asia, in gratitude for the justice they had recently, in two instances, received from

¹ Nero was then sixteen, Drusus fifteen, and Caius nine; their uncle, the neglected Claudius, was thirty-two.

² *At Tiberius, nihil intermissa rerum cura, negotia pro solatiis accipiens, jus civium, preces sociorum tractabat* (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 13).

³ *Apud quos (patres) etiamtum cuncta tractabantur* (*Ann.* iv. 15), but without publicity. Dion, lvii. 21 and 23. Cf. Le Clerc, *Des Journaux chez les Romains*.

Rome, should, in a temple dedicated to himself, associate the divinity of the Senate with his own and that of his mother. Thus we find ourselves on the eve of realizing our wishes for the increase of the authority of the Senate. Tiberius grants it far more than did Augustus; and this body, at once electoral, legislative, and judicial,¹ becomes almost the supreme council of the Empire. Let the senators do the rest; let their conduct rise to the height of the part assigned them; let the Emperor find in them devotion without servility, intelligence without ambition; let them defend him equally against the courtiers who would blind him, and against the factions eager for new disturbances,—and the difficult problem of a limited monarchy will be half solved.

Tiberius had until now retained the council of Augustus: twenty of the chief men of the Empire and certain of his old friends,² to whom he added, when it was a question of replying to deputations, those who had commanded in the countries whose interests were under discussion.³ One of his most important cares was always to listen to the complaints of the provinces,⁴ to decide quarrels between cities,⁵ to succor towns which had been smitten by some disaster,⁶ or punish those which disturbed the public peace.⁷ Again, in the year 23 he caused a proconsul of Ulterior Spain to be condemned for the harshness of his government, and

¹ Tac., *Ann.* iv. 6; Suet., *Tib.* 30. In the matter of judicial authority, Tiberius allowed the Senate to encroach upon the other jurisdictions and multiply the cases reserved for itself; that is to say, those of high treason, of extortion, of poisoning, of resistance to the laws, of theft, of divorce, of incest, of attempt at corruption, etc. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* iii. 50, 85; iii. 10, 12, 19; iv. 31, 43; vi. 49. The *quaestiones perpetuae*, which heretofore had cognizance of most of these crimes, judging without appeal, could not be acceptable to the new government. "There was no affair, great or small," says Suetonius (36), "public or private, which he did not lay before the Senate. He consulted them on the establishment of taxes and the granting of monopolies, on the construction and reparation of public buildings, on levying troops and disbanding them, on the quartering of the legions in the provinces, on the extension of commands, the conduct of wars, and the replies to be made to kings. He obliged a cavalry officer accused of violence and rapine to defend himself before that assembly." But a word from the Emperor could annul all this power; a letter of his to the Senate was regarded as an order (Tac., *Ann.* iii. 19).

² *Veteres amicos ac familiares* (Suet., *Tib.* 55).

³ *Μάλιστα τοὺς ἀρξαντάς ποτε αὐτῶν* (Dion, lvii. 17).

⁴ *Preces sociorum* (*Ann.* iv. 13).

⁵ Between Lacedaemon and Messene, for instance, after the useless arbitration of Miletus (*Ibid.* 43).

⁶ Like Cibra and Aegium, exempted from tribute for three years (*Ibid.* 13).

⁷ Like Cyzicus, deprived of liberty in 25 for violence towards citizens (*Ibid.* 36).

in the following year the conqueror of Sacrovir, for his acts of pillage and his wife's extortions.

Among the requests which came to Rome in these days was one from Marseilles. An exiled Roman, who had become a citizen

of Marseilles, left the city his property upon his death, as Rutilius had done in the case of Smyrna. "The example of Rutilius was the precedent," says Tacitus, and the gift was allowed. This was contrary to the ancient law; jurisprudence later seized upon this exception to draw from it a general rule, which had the happiest results.¹

Favored by peace, the Western people now advanced with rapid strides towards a complete transformation. Tiberius, more faithful to the early example of Augustus than to his later advice, had multiplied



GENIUS OF A CITY (FOUND AT AUTUN IN 1846).²

concessions of citizenship in order to favor the development of a Roman life in the provinces. Sacrovir had found in the schools of Autun youths of all the eminent Gallic families. The Senecas had already come from Cordova to Rome; and Strabo, after having

¹ Tac., *Ann.* iv. 43. Suetonius (*Tib.* 31) speaks also of a legacy left to the city of Trebia. See in chapter lxxix. the reforms of Nerva and Hadrian on this subject, and in chapter lxxxiii. numerous examples of donations to cities.

² Statuette of bronze in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,053.

travelled over nearly the entire Empire, was writing in Rome at this very hour his magnificent work, where undoubted testimony establishes the prosperity of all the provinces.¹

Some successes in Thrace against the mountaineers of the Haemus, who resisted a levy, and in Africa against Tacfarinas, who, surprised on a night march, had finally perished with all his forces (24 A.D.), still further did honor to this wise government, whose chief no more allowed himself to be dazzled by victories than by flatteries.

Spain asked an authorization to build him a temple as Asia had done, but he refused. "I know well," he said in the Senate, "that I am but a man, subject to all the conditions of humanity. . . . Should future ages pronounce me not unworthy of my ancestors,—should they think me vigilant for the public good,² in danger firm, and ready to encounter hatred for the interest of all,—that character will be the bright reward of all my labors. . . . I therefore now address myself to the allies of the Empire, to the citizens of Rome, and to the immortal gods. To the gods it is my prayer that to the end of life they may grant the blessing of an undisturbed, clear, and collected mind, with a just sense of laws both human and divine.³ Of mankind I request that when I am no more they will do justice to my memory, and with kind acknowledgment record my name and the actions of my life."⁴

¹ Tac., *Ann.* iii. 43. In thirty-four years, from 14 to 48 A.D., the number of citizens almost doubled. See, on this subject, the reign of Claudius.

² An inscription in the temple of Concord (*Regio*, viii.) is thus conceived: *Lusitaniae design. pro salute Ti. Caesaris Augusti optimi ac justissimi principis*, etc. (Orelli, 25). *Optimus* is too much; but for the provincials the second epithet is truthful.

³ These are almost the same with the wishes uttered by Juvenal (*Sat.* x. 356),—

Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.

Fortem posce animum, mortis terrore carentem.

⁴ *Ann.* iv. 37–38. I am obliged again to point to the very strange reflections which Tacitus places after these words. I have no wish to take aught from the eulogies of Velleius Paterculus; they have been regarded as questionable, although, saving the affectation and the divine epithets, which were only the polite forms of expression of that time, like the "highness," "excellency," and "grace" of our day, they are very nearly true; for the author, involved, it is probable, in the downfall of Sejanus, has not in his narrative gone beyond the year 30. I merely call attention to these two expressions,—*Suspicit potentem humilis, non timet; antecedit, non contemnit humiliorem potens*; that is to say, the aristocracy has no longer the right to be what Tacitus reproaches it with having been before the Empire (*Ann.* i. 1), either oppressive or insolent: and, *pax Augusta per omnis terrarum orbis angulos a latrocinio metu servat immunes* (ii. 126).

Posterity has not at all fulfilled this hope. Whose is the fault? Doubtless it is the fault of Tiberius, who did not preserve that just and equal mind which he asked of the gods; but also it is the fault of the senators, of Sejanus, of Agrippina even,—of all those who by their baseness, their treason, or their violence, drew him on to reign in Rome by terror only. Tyrants do not make themselves without the complicity of others; and we may well hold responsible for tyranny those who call it forth and who render it possible.

¹ Fine cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 211; sardonyx of three layers, about two and a half by two inches.



TIBERIUS IN OLD AGE, CROWNED WITH OAK-LEAVES AND WEARING THE AEGIS.¹

CHAPTER LXXIII.

ISOLATION, DANGERS, AND CRUELTY OF TIBERIUS.

I.—THE LAW OF TREASON, AND THE INFORMERS.

THERE were in Rome ancient legal provisions against those who, by treason or incapacity, imperilled the fortune or honor of the state, or who did violence to the constitution or to its organs, the magistrates. The *crimen perduellionis*, or attempt against the Roman people, was very vague, and therefore very comprehensive. Moreover, even in ancient times, not only acts, but also writings and words, were punishable. Thus Claudia, during the First Punic War, was condemned for the expression of imprudent wishes; and the Twelve Tables decreed death against the authors of libels. The laws against treason, properly so called, were of popular origin: the first of these was a *Lex Apuleia*, probably passed in the fifth consulship of Marius (about 100 B. C.); and the tribune Varius proposed the second a few years later. Both Sylla and Caesar took the subject up again, to define the cases more exactly. These were numerous; and even the unsuccessful attempt incurred the application of the penalty, which was the interdiction of fire and water; that is to say, exile, with confiscation of property and loss of citizenship.¹ This law now protected the Emperor, representative of the people, heir of the people's tribunes, and, under this title, already sheltered by the

¹ Cicero gives a clear idea of it in his *De Inventione*, ii. 17: *Majestatem minuere est de dignitate, aut amplitudine, aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare*. See in the *Sententiae* of Paulus (v. 29) and in the *Digest* (xlviii. 4) how the juriconsults of the Empire developed the *lex Julia majestatis*. The confiscation that it pronounced was the result of exile; the condemned man being no longer able to sacrifice before his hearth to his domestic gods, nor at the family tomb to the manes of his ancestors, the Roman people inherited from him as common heir. The religious idea had prepared the way for the fiscal idea.

constitutional inviolability of the "sacrosanct" magistracy. "Whoever by deed or word did harm to a tribune¹ was devoted to the gods,—his head to Jupiter, his property to Ceres."

Caesar made no use of the law which he had promulgated; Augustus employed it very sparingly. However, fines and exile were decreed in his time against improper language spoken or written,² and the Romans took delight in satire: Pasquino and Marforio are old inhabitants of Rome. The inveterate habit of exaggerated speech created many culprits; needy rapacity and oratorical vanity, stimulated in the schools and prohibited in the Forum, made many accusers. A successful accusation brought profit and honor. The law, in the first place, granted to him who had avenged it a share in the property of the condemned man;³ and frequently the Senate added a large reward, the Emperor bestowed honors, and the whole city its applause. The future opened prosperously to the fortunate prosecutor; all things were offered him,—fortune and dignities. Thus, as men's servility and as their desires increased, cases which rendered men guilty multiplied; the law punished not words only, but a gesture, an involuntary forgetfulness, an indiscreet curiosity: to consult an astrologer on the duration of the ruler's life implied criminal hopes. Even the statue of the Emperor participated in the same inviolability; woe to him who sells it with the field in which it stands, who throws a stone at it, who takes away its head, or melts the mutilated and worthless bronze!⁴

If we consider these accusations ridiculous, we shall do well to remember what for so many years constituted high treason in England, and how dear it cost men in Scotland and Ireland to drink to the health of the Stuarts. Every age has constituted, now in the name of the state or the ruler, now in the name of religion, certain crimes which later ages have ceased to recog-

¹ The expression used by Livy is very general: *Si quis . . . tribunis nocuisset*.

² Tac., *Ann.* i. 72; Suet., *Octav.* 51; Sen., *De Benef.* iii. 27. The Julian law reckoned among the *crimina majestatis* the insertion in public acts or the official declaration of a known falsehood: *Quive sciens falsum conscripserit vel recitaverit in tabulis publicis* (Ulpian, in the *Digest*, xlviii. 4, 2). In recent times the French law punished outrages against the head of the state and the propagation of false news.

³ The fourth, according to Tacitus (*Ann.* iv. 20); the eighth, according to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* xix. 1). Sometimes the Emperor relinquished the whole (*Ann.* ii. 32).

⁴ Sen., *De Benef.* iii. 26.

nize as such. United with the state government, justice often becomes injustice, smiting as guilty those whom reason absolves; and the pressure of reigning ideas is so strong that great minds, swept away by the current, are unable to resist these influences. Two centuries after Tiberius, Ulpian, defining again this *crimen majestatis*, which had already served such base and sanguinary purposes, calls it the crime nearest to sacrilege (*proximum sacrilegio crimen*). And, indeed, at Rome religion was blended with all things. The Emperor was sovereign pontiff, and destined to apotheosis, and his statues were pontifically consecrated. Is it so very long since, in modern Europe, to break a holy image or a religious symbol has ceased to be a crime involving death?¹ We may be indignant at this apotheosis of Emperors, some of whom were a disgrace to humanity; but we are forced to acknowledge that this political and religious consecration was given to the ruler, accepted by the people, and guaranteed by the law. Montesquieu says: "In order to judge men, we must excuse in them the prejudices of their time." Excuse them? No! But surely take them into account.

With his political and military powers the Emperor commanded obedience; with the law against treason he strove to secure his personal safety. For this ancient and formidable weapon, whose use the servility and the superstition of that time authorized as never before, permitted him to reach those whom he could in no other way touch; and Tiberius now made a sanguinary use of it.²

¹ The penalty of death for sacrilege was not abolished in France until after the Revolution of July, and in England only by an Act of Parliament in 1835. I do not speak of the famous executions of the eighteenth century in France, nor the condemnations in 1816 for words, writings, coins with the Emperor's effigy, etc. Confiscations were frequent through the entire duration of the old monarchy. Abolished for the first time in 1790, they did not finally cease until 1814.

² Freytag (*Tiberius und Tacitus*, pp. 292-307) enumerates all the prosecutions brought before the Senate under Tiberius of which any trace remains, and gives a hundred and forty-seven accusations concerning a hundred and thirty-four persons, or at least six persons accused yearly. Many of these prosecutions, however, refer to really criminal actions, not concerning the Government in any way. The cases of high treason are only fifty-two. Of these fifty-two accused persons, four killed themselves, one died before judgment was rendered, twelve were put to death, five banished, four imprisoned or held in surveillance, two set at liberty on bail, three pardoned, fourteen acquitted, and seven discharged, the accusation being abandoned. Thus twenty-six persons accused of treason escaped, — just half of the entire number known to have been accused during the twenty-three years of the reign of Tiberius.

The premature deaths of Germanicus and Drusus left him alone, exposed to all attacks. He felt the perils of this isolation;¹ and as these two deaths, which created a void around him, had increased the hopes of factions, his suspicions were also augmented: from that day he believed himself menaced and in danger. Of pure republicans at this time we see little; if men like Chaerea, wishing the Emperor's death for the advantage of the Conscript Fathers, were so numerous that after Caligula's murder the Senate was almost able to re-establish the old forms, Cremutius Cordus did no more than praise Brutus and call Cassius the last of the



AGRIPPINA, WIFE OF GERMANICUS AND MOTHER OF CALIGULA.³

Romans. The love of aristocratic liberty was, it is true, in the head rather than the heart, in men's memories rather than their affections. Though not very dangerous to the imperial form of government, it was, however, a peril to the Emperor;² for if it could not bring forth a revolution, it was still always capable of combining in plots, either with the partisans of a senatorial restoration, or with the ambitious men who desired to become emperor. Those rulers in

whose time something is founded or something comes to an end are continually exposed to this peril.

The ambitious men of the period, not daring to undertake anything on their own account, gathered about Agrippina, feigning sympathy with her resentment towards the Emperor, and scheming to employ her children for the overthrow of Tiberius, — always with the intention of getting rid of them later. More than one doubtless repeated to the young princes what the Jew Agrippa said to Cains: "Will not that old man soon depart for the other world and leave you master of this one?"⁴ In this way a numerous

¹ According to Josephus, he even said to Caligula, in recommending Tiberius Gemellus to his care: *Αἷ τε γὰρ μονώσεις ἐπικίνδυνοι τοῖς εἰς τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ὄγκον κατάστασιν* (*Ant. Jud.* xviii. 6, 9).

² [Thus the recent discontent in Ireland, powerless against the English Government, took the direction of plotting the murder of English officials. — Ed.]

³ Bust of Agrippina, surrounded by the legend: *AGRIPPINA M F MATR CAESARIS AVGVSTI*.

⁴ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 8.

party¹ had gathered about Agrippina, which Sejanus pointed out to the Emperor as already prepared for civil war. Tiberius allowed his minister to attack it.

Silius, one of the leaders who boasted too loudly of having preserved the Empire to Tiberius in the affair of Sacrovir's revolt, and had stained his victory by rapines, being accused of extortions and of treason, took his own life. Tacitus says that Agrippina's friendship caused his death, and it may be so; but the historian is forced to acknowledge that the charges against Silius were grave. It was after this prosecution that the Senate rendered magistrates responsible for the misconduct of their wives. The wife of Silius was sent into exile.²

Another of Agrippina's friends, her cousin Claudia, was accused of adultery and condemned. At news of this, Agrippina hastened to Tiberius, whom she found offering sacrifices on the altar of Augustus. This circumstance exasperated her still more. "Why," she cried, "make offerings to Augustus when his family are persecuted?"



STATUE OF TIBERIUS (FOUND AT CAPRI).³

¹ Tac., *Ann.* iv. 17: *Esse qui se partium Agrippinae vocent.* According to Josephus, the armies were all gained over to the sons of Germanicus, and finally to Caligula. . . . Καὶ μάλιστα τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἦρτο, αἰρετὸν ἀριθμοῦντες τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνῳ περ γενησομένης εἰ δεήσει, καὶ τελευτᾶν (*Ant. Jud.* xviii. 6, 3).

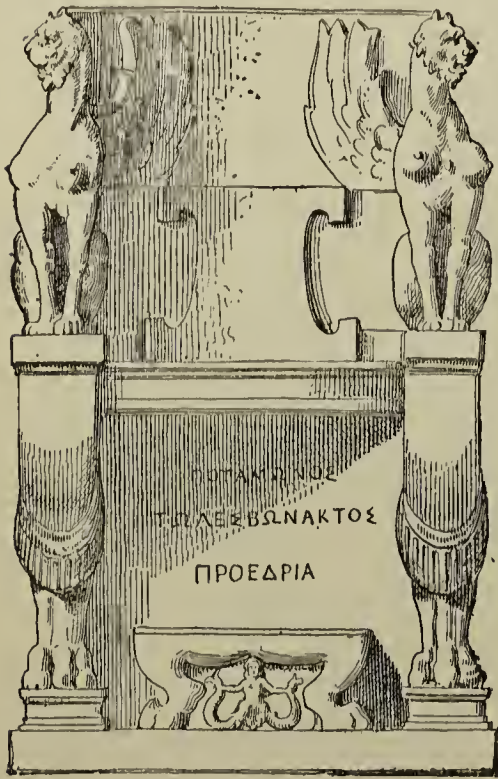
² Tac., *Ann.* iv. 18-20.

³ Tiberius clad in the toga. This admirable statue, found in the Island of Capri, is now in the Louvre, No. 111 of the Clarac Catalogue.

Tiberius, listening calmly to her reproaches, replied with the Greek line: "Are your rights then invaded if you do not reign?"

The other party had their turn; the republican Cremutius Cordus had stung Sejanus. "He is not set over our heads," said Cordus; "he climbs thither himself."¹ Accused for his History of the Civil Wars, he defended himself with dignity. "Is it believed," he said, "that I wish by my writings to excite the people to civil war, to bring back Brutus and Cassius in arms upon the

battlefield of Philippi? Notwithstanding the sixty years that have passed since their death, history preserves their memory, as the statues which the conqueror himself has not destroyed preserve their features. Posterity assigns to each his share of fame; and if I am condemned, there will not fail to be citizens who will be mindful of Brutus and Cassius, and even of me." After these proud words he quitted the curia, returned home and shut himself up, and died of voluntary starvation (25 A. D.).² This was the first crime of Tiberius, and the first example of those stoic deaths which show us some of the old Romans yet left



MARBLE SEAT OF THE PHILOSOPHER
POTAMON.³

in the midst of the universal degradation.

The Senate caused all the works of Cordus that could be discovered to be publicly burnt. His daughter Marcia hid a copy, which was multiplied until (says Seneca) "his writings are now in the hands and in the heart of all Romans."

A few days later Agrippina fell ill. Tiberius visited her; but she received him with a persistent silence and with tears. Then,

¹ Sen., *Consolatio ad Marciam*.

² Tac., *Ann.* iv. 35.

³ Texier, *Voyage en Asie Mineure*, vol. ii. This seat, which is still used by the Metropolitan, was given to Potamon by the Lesbians, that he might have a seat of honor at their games.

breaking out into entreaties and reproaches, she asked of him a husband as a protector for the widow and children of Germanicus.¹ The Emperor in his turn became silent, and went out without making answer to this imprudent request. Thus they continued to exasperate one another. Sejanus neglected nothing that might increase this enmity. He secretly warned Agrippina to beware of her father-in-law's banquets; and one day, at the Emperor's table, she remained through the whole dinner silent, with downcast eyes, and touching no food. Tiberius, surprised and offended, affected to praise the fruits placed before him, and offered them to Agrippina; she handed them to a slave, but would not eat them herself. He addressed no reproaches to her, but turning to Livia, he said: "Can any one wonder that I should show some severity towards a woman who wishes to have me thought a poisoner?" An old friend of Germanicus not long after bore the penalty of Agrippina's imprudence.

About this time (26 A.D.) Tiberius quitted Rome, with the determination never to reside there again. He was accompanied by Sejanus, Attieus, a Roman knight of good family, Cocceius Nerva, the able jurist, and some learned Greeks whose society was agreeable to him. He, who so rarely laughed, was pleased at their subtle wit, and indulged in sportive conversation with them. One of these Greeks being about to leave him, the Emperor gave him a safe-conduct thus written: "If any man propose to do injury to Potamon of Lesbos, let him first consider whether he is in a position to declare war against me."² He travelled slowly through Campania, and the next year withdrew into the beautiful island of Capri. He was at this time sixty-nine years of age. His old age took nothing from his mental activity;³ but his body was bent, and his face at times covered with ulcers, and he desired to hide these tokens of decrepitude. Upon that solitary rock, whither he had been led by a great contempt for mankind and a scorn of

¹ Tacitus (*Ann.* iv. 53) records this fact from the *Commentaries* written by Agrippina's own daughter.

² Strabo, xiii. 617.

³ Suetonius (*Tib.* 41) says that from this moment he abandoned the cares of government. We shall see, however, that the closing years of his reign were not idle. It is true that he took no pleasure in war; but when a serious danger presented itself, — as, for example, when the Parthians entered Armenia, — he at once took energetic measures.

official pomp, he sought security for his latter days. Far from Rome and the cares which there beset him, his will would be better obeyed, for an unseen power is always more impressive; in this island, too, he believed himself more in safety. His grandson Tiberius was at this time only eight years of age, while two of the three sons of Germanicus had already reached man's estate.¹



BAS-RELIEF OF MARBLE, FOUND AT CAPRI: A SCENE OF THE ELYSIAN LIFE (?).²

Hopes were growing up around them. The people, who love neither the old age of royalty nor a cold and severe administration, did not conceal their preferences; their whole affection was for the race of Germanicus. Any good fortune happening to them, or any calamity to Tiberius, was equally a cause of public rejoicing;³ and the old Emperor, feeling himself hated, believed himself surrounded

¹ The youngest, Caligula, was fifteen, and Nero, the eldest, had been eight years married.

² Museum of Naples. A marble very difficult to explain. It may represent, after death, a husband and wife in the flower of their age, the husband in heroic costume, that is to say, without garments, and the wife as a nymph. They are led towards a fig-tree, behind which stands Love in repose, or Hermes, the leader and shepherd of souls. It is possible also that this beautiful bas-relief is a hymeneal scene: a young couple coming to adore a sacred tree, behind which is a god of gardens.

³ Tac., *Ann.* ii. 84; iv. 12.

by plots. Sejanus had just saved his life; and this proof of devotion increased his favor. The ruler now saw only through the eyes of the minister whom he had suffered to come between himself and the Empire.

Against the success of his ambitious views the praetorian prefect now found no obstacle remaining save the sons of Germanicus; accordingly, he strove to excite the Emperor's suspicions of his too impatient heirs. He persuaded him to appoint guards to attend them, to keep watch upon their movements, their visits, and the messages that they received. Meanwhile traitors, suborned for the purpose, endeavored to mislead the sons of Germanicus. The young men were advised to take shelter beneath the statue of Augustus in the Forum; to implore the protection of the Senate and the people; to try even the fidelity of the legions, by seeking refuge with what had formerly been the army of Germanicus. They rejected all these guilty propositions; but they were blamed for having heard them, and were represented to Tiberius as ready to put any of them in execution.

The eldest, Nero, for whom his mother manifested an imprudent partiality, and whom his friends and clients urged to seize a fortune by which they would have profited, gave ground for suspicions by his impatient and haughty words in regard to the favorite who "abused the weakness of an old man." His wife and his brother Drusus betrayed him, and carried everything to Sejanus, who flattered Drusus with the hope of imperial power.

Tiberius believed it necessary to strike this party a second time. On the first day of January, 28 A. D., Sabinus, the warmest partisan of Agrippina, was dragged to prison. This sad affair showed clearly to what the magistrates and senators of Rome had been reduced. Four ex-praetors were the instruments of his ruin. One of them obtained his confidence by seeming to share his hatred, and brought Sabinus into his house, where he wrung from him the most imprudent words. The three others, from a place of concealment, listened to all that was said, and reported it to Tiberius, who asked of the Senate the offender's head. That which the four praetors did, others attempted daily; for even among men of the highest rank there was an emulation in villany only explicable by the perversion of the moral sense in the higher

classes, and the necessity of finding new ways to wealth. Each of the two accusers of Thræsea was rewarded with more than \$200,000, and the betrayer of Soranus had the quaestorship, besides the money he received. Hence they are keen on the scent of crimes and in quest of victims. Civil law, political law, criminal law,—each serves in its turn. Augustus had called upon the citizens to seek out infractions of his *lex Pappia-Poppaea*; and at once informers had fallen upon the city, upon Italy and the whole Empire. “Already had they destroyed many fortunes, and spread terror in every direction, when Tiberius, to remedy the evil, gave commission to fifteen senators to modify and define the law. The evil for the moment was diminished.”¹ But when he himself loosened the rein which he had drawn,—when by the law of high treason a word, a gesture, could be made into a crime,—“then terror brooded over the city. Kindred dreaded one another, men no longer accosted each other, or dared so much as to speak; whether between strangers or acquaintances, there was a mutual avoidance; everything was an object of suspicion, even the mute and inanimate walls.”² It was the civil war beginning anew, with its proscriptions and bloody affrays. But here a word was a sword; the Senate and the Gemoniae were the battlefield; the rich and noble were the victims.³ In these unarmed duels Tiberius was more often a witness than an actor; as an arbiter, he looked on with the people at this terrible game which the aristocracy offered both Emperor and people,⁴ one keeping account of the blows and

¹ Tac., *Ann.* iii. 28.

² *Ann.* iv. 69. It appears by the affair of Sabinus that here Tacitus does not exaggerate.

³ Lucan says this, *Phars.* i. 685:

Impiaque in medio peraguntur bella senatu;

and Seneca, *De Benef.* iii. 26: *Accusandi frequens et pene publica rabies quae omni civili bello gravius togatam civitatem confecit*; and as a proof that it was indeed the civil war breaking out again, the executioners were always centurions and soldiers.

⁴ See, for example, the enmity of the two consuls of the year 31, Regulus and Trion, who mutually accused each other of treason; then, when their term of office was expired, were summoned by the senator Haterius to fulfil the threats each had made against the other (*Ann.* v. 11; vi. 4). One Cotta indulged in some pleasantry at the expense of Tiberius, and was denounced *a primoribus civitatis* (*ibid.* 5). Cf. vi. 7: *Quod maxime exitiabile tulere illa tempora, cum primores senatus infimas etiam delationes exercerent . . . infecti quasi valetudine et contactu*. To this add that special taste of the Romans, who cannot live without going to law, says a juriconsult (*ὅντας αὐτοὺς ἐν πολιτείᾳ οὐκ ἐνὴν ἐκτός εἶναι δικῶν*. Theoph., *Inst.* i. 6, sec. 4), and that at Rome, as in Greece, the right of accusing belonged to every man. Nero asserted that he had read in the *Memoirs* of Claudius: *Nullam cuiusque accusationem ab eo coactam* (Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 43).

decreeing to the most murderous the palm of eloquence,¹ the other carrying off the fallen, to make sport of their dead bodies in the streets of the city. Tiberius gave but few combats of gladiators; the people were compensated by these executions.

Tacitus relates that a senator, Domitius Afer, who had enriched himself once by a successful accusation, having foolishly squandered the reward of his infamy, associated himself with Dolabella, a man of very high station, to ruin Varus. The Senate refused to receive the information, saying that the presence of the Emperor must be awaited; and the historian adds: "This was the sole resource against pressing necessities," — a strange expression in the mouth of Tacitus, and significant.²

Let it not be thought that we exaggerate in relating these duels, where, as in the Middle Ages, in the "judgments of God," the vanquished was given over to the executioner. Augustus subjected the accuser who did not make good his charge to the penalty the accused person would have suffered; and Tiberius caused informers to be put to death.³

II. — DESTRUCTION OF THE FAMILY OF GERMANICUS; FALL OF SEJANUS; CRUELITIES OF TIBERIUS (29–37).

TIBERIUS had only to let affairs take their course to be rid of those whom he feared. But he feared much; for he knew that "whosoever despises his own life can always render himself master of another's;"⁴ and he wrote to the Senate after the death of Sabinus: "My life is constantly in danger; I still am in fear of new plots." He referred to Agrippina and Nero. They were almost immediately struck down (29 A.D.) Livia, who had, it was said, interceded for them, had just died, at the age of eighty-five; and Sejanus, freed from the restraint which the old

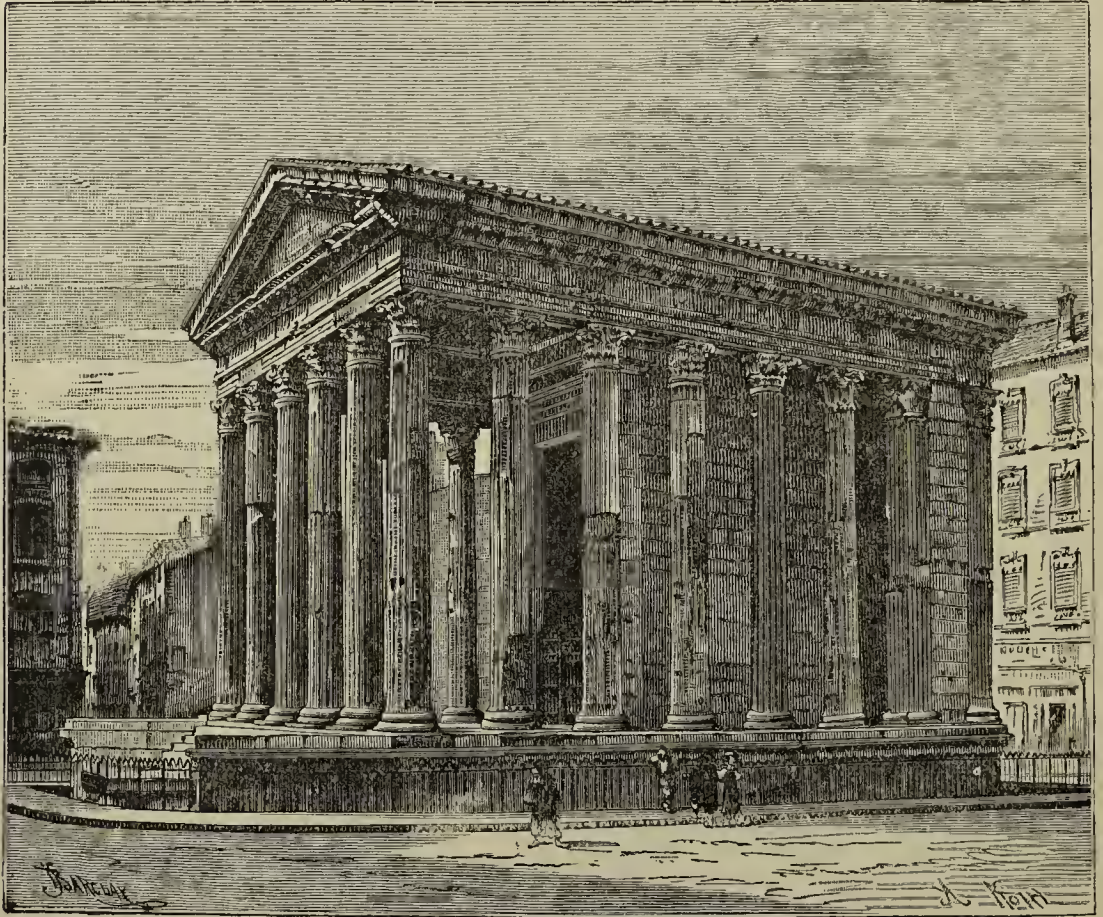
¹ Thus to Domitius Afer: *Suo jure disertum eum appellavit* (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 52).

² Here Tacitus fails us for nearly three years, — an irreparable loss; for while we often differ from him, it is he himself who furnishes us with the means to refute him. What a contrast between the rich development of his history, his stately style, and the gossiping mediocrity of Dion, who, with Suetonius and Josephus, is now our only resource!

³ Suet., *Octav.* 32; Tac., *Ann.* vi. 30.

⁴ Montaigne, book i. chap. xxiii.

Empress imposed upon him, urged their destruction. Anonymous writings were current in Rome, full of sarcasms against the minister. One of these went so far as to suppose a session of the Senate in which the ex-consuls were represented expressing opinions with great freedom. Sejanus believed or feigned to believe that a revolt was about to begin. "The Senate," he



TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS AND LIVIA AT VIENNA (ISÈRE).¹

wrote to Tiberius, "despises the resentment of the Emperor; the people are in rebellion; false harangues and decrees of the Senate are in circulation and publicly read. All that is left for them to do is to take arms and proclaim as chiefs, as emperors, those whose likeness they desire to see upon their standards." It is the misfortune of governments like this that the ruler con-

¹ Livia died at the age of eighty-three or eighty-five (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiv. 8; Letronne, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 171). The *consecratio*, or canonization, which made her *diva* and gave her temples, did not take place till the time of Claudius. Tiberius was too sceptical to make gods.

stantly dreads the ambition of those nearest to him. It was a situation which Tiberius had not created; but he aggravated it by his suspicions, his contempt of men, and his readiness to shed blood. In the solitude where he dwelt, far from the world and the sound of all the executions ordered by him in Rome, he easily came to be pitiless. The sons of Germanicus became a trouble to him, and he caused them to disappear. Agrippina, removed from Rome, was conducted to the Island of Pandataria by a tribune, — who, it is said, treated this granddaughter of Augustus so roughly that he put out one of her eyes; four years later she ended her life by voluntary starvation. Nero, sent to Pontia, was shortly after put to death there, or else committed suicide (31 A.D.); his brother Drusus was shut up in an underground room of the palace at Rome; only the youth of the third brother, Caius, saved him. It was well to keep him alive, in case of some unforeseen need; and he could be destroyed at any moment if he became dangerous.



AGRIPPINA, WIFE OF
GERMANICUS.¹

All the family of Germanicus had thus, so to speak, perished; Sejanus believed that he was approaching the goal. He had shortly before this ventured to ask the hand of Livilla, the widow of Drusus; this was almost to solicit the title of the Emperor's son-in-law and heir. Tiberius had refused the request, but with friendly words;² and in the year 31 he took Sejanus for a colleague in the consulship. The Senate, believing that they divined the Emperor's intentions, outran them; and gave the first alarm to his suspicions by decreeing to the minister the same honors as to the ruler himself. Statues were erected to them side by side, their seats were placed together in the theatre, and it was decreed that they should be

¹ Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 210 of the Catalogue (sardonyx in three layers, one and three quarters by one inch).

² We must, however, note them, for they show the interior of the imperial household . . . *Inimicitiae Agrippinae, quas longe acrius arsuras, si matrimonium Liviae, velut in partes, domum Caesarum distraxisset: sic quoque erumpere aemulationem feminarum, eaque discordia nepotes suos convelli* (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 40).

consuls together for five years. Sejanus was already a demigod; sacrifices were offered before his statues; and—a thing never done seriously except in Rome, and in the Rome of this epoch—he himself sacrificed to his own divinity. Some called him the true emperor; the other, they said, is only the king of Capri. Antonia, the sister-in-law of Tiberius, who, like Agrippina, had honored her widowhood by a long and irreproachable chastity, perceived more quickly than did the Emperor the secret designs of the conspirator. “Sejanus,” she wrote to him, “conspires with the senators.

ANTONIA.²

Generals of the army, soldiers bought with money, the freedmen of the imperial palace even, have joined in the plot;” and she revealed to the Emperor all the particulars of it.¹ Tiberius did not venture to strike at once. He wished first to sound the real inclinations of the Senate, of the people, and of the praetorians, and to examine the resources of Sejanus, in order to destroy them in advance, dealing with him as with an enemy to be attacked carefully and from a distance, to be entangled by degrees and to be seized only at the final moment, when all things made his destruction certain. He

had already sent away Sejanus from Capri to Rome, where the latter’s consulship seemed to render his presence necessary; in reality the better to keep watch upon him while seeming to leave him more unobserved. The Emperor began by letters skilfully calculated to call out the various sentiments of Sejanus. At one time he wrote that his health was ruined; at another, that it had again become excellent; and when his late favorite asked permission to come back into Campania, announced that he himself was about to come to Rome. Occasionally he blamed Sejanus, but more

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 8.

² Engraved amethyst of the *Cabinet de France*. Antonia, wife of Drusus the elder, represented as Ceres holding a cornucopia.



P. SELLIER, PINXIT

GLADIATORS

From a wall-painting at Pompeii

generally praised him. He bestowed favors upon some of his friends, and ill-treated others. He appointed Sejanus pontifex; but also bestowed the office of augur and the Augustal priesthood upon Caius, who owed this return of favor and fortune to the fears now inspired by the murderer of all his nearest relatives.¹ With these titles Tiberius also bestowed high praise upon the young prince, and made it apparent that he designed him for his successor. Emboldened by the popular joy at the rumor of this elevation of a son of Germanicus, he dared still more, pardoning an accused person, an enemy of Sejanus, and forbidding sacrifices to be offered to a man still living.

While the praetorian prefect was thus held in suspense, one day attacked, on the morrow caressed and restored to confidence, he lost the opportunity of replying to these underhand assaults by a revolution,² while Tiberius made sure of the people, shattered the party of Sejanus, and detached from it the senators who had had most confidence in him. At last Sejanus understood, in finding himself alone, that he was threatened; and he knew Tiberius too well not to be sure that the threat would be very quickly followed by the execution. He hastened his designs, sought and found agents to attempt the Emperor's life.³ But Tiberius, invisible, kept watch upon him; and the moment having come, the blow fell. On the night of the 18th. of October an officer of the praetorian guard, Macro, arrived in Rome from Capri. He at once communicated his order to the consul Regulus and the prefect of the night watch. In the morning he met Sejanus at the door of the curia; the latter was surprised that Macro brought him no letters from Tiberius. "I have letters," rejoined Macro, "and they invest you with the office of tribune." The late favorite believed that the Emperor once more placed himself in

¹ Suet., *Calig.* 12.

² We conclude this from the words of Tacitus (*Ann.* v. 8; vi. 8), Suetonius (*Tib.* 65), Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* xviii. 6, 6), Philo (*Leg. ad C.*, pp. 997 d, and 1015 b), and lastly, of Juvenal (*Sat.* x. 56-107, especially lines 74 and 75):—

. . . *Si Nortia Tusco*
Favisset, si oppressa foret secunda senectus
Principis.

A singular inscription, much mutilated, but still containing the essential words, gives some reason to believe that Sejanus had sought support for his projects among the populace . . . *improbae comitiae* . . . (Marini, *Atti*, p. 43, and Wilmanns, 1699).

³ Dion, lviii. 9-11; Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 61.

his power, and went to his seat in the Senate. Macro, before following him thither, exhibited to the praetorians who attended Sejanus a letter from Tiberius constituting himself their commanding officer. He promised them a largess; and dismissing them, substituted for them the night watch, who at once surrounded the curia. Then, entering the senate-house, he gave the consuls the letters he had brought for them, and immediately going out again, repaired to the camp of the praetorians to prevent any seditious outbreak on the part of the soldiers. He had received orders, if any disturbance occurred there, to take Drusus out of his prison and present him to the Senate and the people.¹

The letter of Tiberius was very long, to give Macro time to make sure of the fidelity of the guards. The Emperor began with a matter of small importance, brought in a few words against Sejanus, then went on to another subject, and again returned to Sejanus, without anger or excitement. Finally, coming closer, he distinctly accused two members of the Senate, friends of Sejanus, and demanded that the minister himself should be arrested. Upon this the senators nearest to him, who just now had offered him their congratulations, drew away and reproached him, the tribunes and the praetors surrounded him, the consul seized him and dragged him away, amid the howls of the people, to the Mamertine prison, where the same evening he was put to death. His body, abandoned to the populace, was dragged through the streets and torn in pieces, so that not a limb remained for the executioner to cast into the Tiber.² The people, with their taste for blood whetted, rushed upon the partisans of the fallen minister; while the praetorians, enraged that their share in the work had been given to the night guards, burned and pillaged in the city.

After the victims of the people there were those of the Emperor, — Blaesius, the uncle of Sejanus, his friends (and he had many, for he had been long in power), and his children. From this day dated the cruelties of Tiberius; up to this time the minister rather than

¹ Dion, lviii. 4-12. In the *Memoirs* of Tiberius, written by himself, which were read by Suetonius, the Emperor said, *Sejanum se punisse quod comperisset furere adversus liberos Germanici filii sui*. There is only a portion of truth in these words; but it may be that Tiberius was, I will not say repentant, but aware that he had augmented rather than diminished his dangers in allowing Sejanus to destroy the family of Germanicus.

² Sen., *De Tranq. an.* 11.

the master had been held responsible.¹ But when Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, revealed to the Emperor that her husband had seven years before poisoned Drusus, by this crime causing all the perils that had gathered about the old age of Tiberius;² when he saw himself outmatched in dissimulation by a man who, the better to secure the success of his designs, had saved the Emperor's life at the risk of his own; and when he knew the extent of the plot and the number of the accomplices,—he thenceforth trusted for security to the executioner only. "From this time," says Suetonius, "his cruelty knew no limits. He multiplied tortures and punishments; and for whole days the management of this affair so engrossed his mind that when a certain Rhodian, whom he had invited to come to see him, was announced, the Emperor, persuaded that he was one of the persons to be put to the torture, ordered him to be tortured; then, discovering his mistake, caused the Rhodian to be killed that the matter might thus be hushed up. At Capri the place of execution is still shown,—a rock whence the condemned at a signal from the Emperor were pushed into the sea. Sailors awaited them below, and any who were yet alive were beaten to death." At Rome the Senate long continued to receive and to call for accusations; and Tiberius was the first to weary of these murders, which the baseness of the senators multiplied. To end the matter, he ordered the execution of all those who were retained in prison. Twenty condemned persons, and among them women and children, were strangled in one day, exposed on the Gemoniae, and then thrown into the Tiber.³ After a brief rest the condemnations began anew; and this time Tiberius arrested them in a different way. He caused the most shameless informers to be put to death, and forbade all disbanded soldiers to appear as accusers. Information now became a privilege limited to the Senate and the equestrian order.⁴

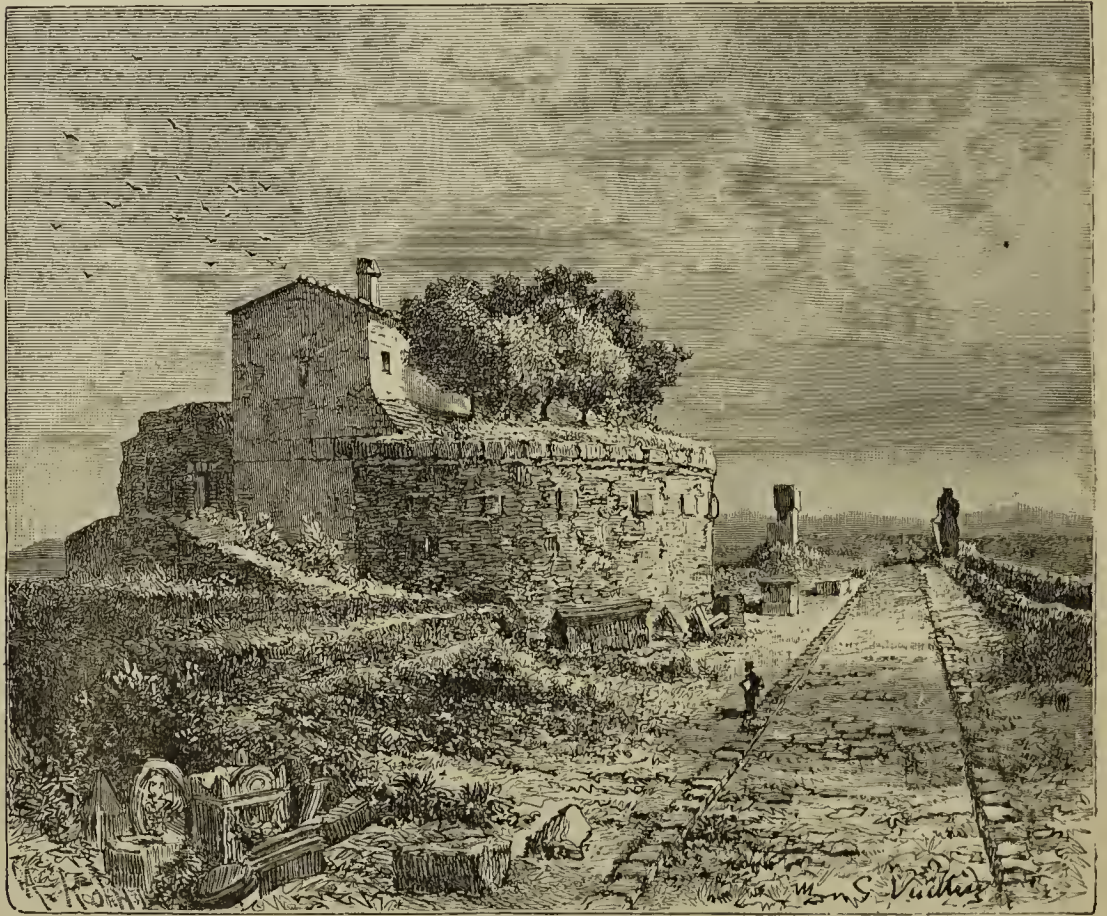
¹ Dion, lviii. 12.

² Apicata killed herself after having written this letter, in which she also revealed the complicity of Livilla. Tiberius desired to pardon the latter; but her mother, Antonia, caused her to be starved to death (Dion, lviii. 11). To verify the account given by Apicata, many slaves and freedmen who were supposed to be cognizant of the crime were brought to Capri and put to the torture.

³ I take the figures of Suetonius (*Tib.* 61). Tacitus avoids mentioning a number, which gives him an opportunity to draw a picture which resembles the massacres of September, 1793, in Paris (*Ann.* vi. 19).

⁴ Dion, lviii. 21.

However, even in these dreadful years the Emperor was not always pitiless. A knight, accused of having been the friend of Sejanus, replied that Tiberius himself had also been his friend; and that while it was just to punish the accomplices of the traitor, those who, like the Emperor, had been his friends only, ought, like him, to be absolved. Whereupon he was dismissed, and those who had accused him were punished with exile or death.¹



TOMB OF MESSALINUS COTTA, ON THE APPIAN WAY.²

Messalinus Cotta was denounced by the chief men of the city for having spoken ill of the Emperor; but Tiberius forbade the case to be brought up, and caused one of the informers to be punished. Many accused persons were forgotten in their prisons; for instance, Agrippa, who had wished the Emperor's death; Vitellius, who, it was said, had promised to make over to Sejanus the public

¹ Tac., *Ann.* vi. 8-9, 30; Dion, lviii. 19. Claudius condemned to fight in the arena those slaves and freedmen who, under Tiberius and Caius, had set on foot calumnious accusations or borne false witness (Dion, lx. 12).

² Canina, *Via Appia*, pl. 63.

treasure under his charge; and the ex-consul Pomponius. Vitellius, wearied by the delay of his case, killed himself; the other two, wiser, awaited for seven years the death of Tiberius, and were set at liberty by his successor. Unconsciously appreciating the deplorable situation brought about by the fault of the times, the crimes of some and the baseness of all, one of the biographers of Tiberius is ready to felicitate him on having spared the friends of Sejanus.¹

It happened then sometimes that the tyrant slept. A praetor, Lucius Sejanus, who publicly ridiculed the Emperor, was not even molested, and two accusers of Arruntius were punished. Of five senators accused of treason two were acquitted; the cases of the three others were by the Emperor's order postponed till he himself should come to Rome, whither he never did return. Of these three, one afterwards conspired against Claudius, the second, against Nero; the third, Scaurus, censured for his infamous life and accused of adultery and magic, killed himself.² With all this, there was place for long and honorable lives in Rome; Piso, the prefect of the city, died an octogenarian, having for twenty years filled a most difficult position honorably and without base complaisance.³ His successor wielded the same authority in a like manner, and has the eulogium of Tacitus. Lepidus also, the man of highest rank in Rome after the family of the Caesars, he whom the dying Augustus pointed out to Tiberius as one of the candidates for the imperial power, remained the friend of both ruler and people. It was possible, then, under Tiberius to live without sycophancy on condition of living without intrigues; and for that a man must be neither conspirator nor informer, one or other of which at this time almost every Roman noble was.

After all this commotion Tiberius believed it necessary to show himself in the environs of Rome. He came by way of the

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 8. Ἐφείσαστο μὲν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν καίτοι τῷ Σηιανῷ ὁκοιωμένων (Dion, lvi. 19). Rubrius, who took refuge with the Parthians, is arrested, *mansit tamen incolumis, oblivione magis quam clementia* (*Ann.* vi. 14). In the year 34 an ex-aedile, accusing the commander of the legions of Upper Germany of having thought of taking a son of Sejanus for son-in-law, was expelled from the city.

² *Ann.* vi. 7 and 9. See Seneca's report concerning Scaurus (*De Benef.* iv. 31).

³ *Ann.* vi. 10, 11.

Tiber to his gardens near the Vatican; but the troops kept the people away from the river banks. So great was his distrust that he would have Macro, his new praetorian prefect, accompany him with tribunes and centurions when he went to the curia. The Senate hastened to add the further precaution that every senator should be searched before entering, to make sure that no man concealed a poniard. Such was the Senate of Tiberius! Servile and grovelling, and the more to be feared for that; to-day condemning without the Emperor's order a mother who wept for her son; to-morrow ready to drag Tiberius himself to the Gemoniae if some successful assassin should murder him!

But the Senate and the Emperor parted for the last time; Tiberius returned to his island, where, it is asserted, he gave himself up to infamous pleasures. Voltaire, the great doubter, doubted this; and we share his incredulity. When men saw this formidable old man retire to his inaccessible rock, their imagination exhausted itself in inventing for him monstrous pleasures and scenes of improbable debauchery as the only gratifications that he could enjoy. Tacitus throws discredit in advance upon the narrative of Suetonius and upon his own of the orgies of Capri when he contrasts with the dissipated life of Drusus the austere and stern solitude in which Tiberius lived at Rome.¹ Certainly

¹ *Ann.* iii. 37: . . . *Solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus.* He had added a subdivision to the *Lex Pappia-Poppaea*: *quasi sexagenarii generare non possent* (Suet., *Claud.* 23). This measure does not seem the act of an old libertine. It is to be noted that the writers of his time or very nearly succeeding him, — Philo, Seneca, and Pliny the elder, — appear to know nothing about Capri. The Jewish historian Josephus, who was well informed concerning Tiberius, and speaks of Capri, makes no mention of the atrocities said to have taken place there. Tacitus himself tells us that Tiberius was not accustomed to remain long at table; for, two days before his death, to deceive the foresight of Charicles, *discumbit ultra solitum*. At a moment like that, already in the grasp of death, he certainly could not have had the strength to remain there a really long time; and by comparison with his usual habit, a little time was an excess (*Ann.* vi. 50). Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 34, on the simplicity of his table. Seneca (*Epist.* 95) relates that one day there was given him a gray mullet weighing forty-five pounds, and he sent it to the market. "I shall be much surprised," he said to one of his friends, "if Apicius or Octavius do not buy it." They did, in fact, dispute for the fish, and Octavius obtained it at the price of five thousand sesterces. Philo (*Leg. ad C.* p. 996 b, c), in the curious picture which he draws of the prosperity of the Roman world, says that Caligula was attacked in the seventh month of his reign by a very serious malady arising from his relinquishing the frugal and healthful method of living practised by Tiberius. In his youth, Pliny says, he loved wine, but became *in senecta severus* (xiv. 28); he loved light and ordinary articles of food, — pears (xv. 46), cucumbers, chervil, and cabbage (xix. 23, 28, 4). One of the two friends whom he took with him to Capri was the ex-consul Nerva, a very learned juriconsult, a person of serious character and his ordinary counsellor. The history of Agrippa, related at much length

we should not guarantee his morals in a time when no man had any; but we take into account his past life, his terrible anxieties, his labors, and especially his age. In any case, however, it is the ruler rather than the man whom we have to study.

At Rome the war went on which the nobles were making upon each other in the Emperor's name, and condemnations were pronounced, often on grounds which we find it hard to comprehend.¹ Terror still brooded over the Senate, and the accusation of treason was like a sword suspended above all heads, — most frequently, however, by Tacitus' own admission, smiting victims who deserved no pity. There broke out at this time one of those epidemics of suicide which have appeared in other countries.² Men killed themselves for a word spoken by the ruler, through weariness of life, even without motive, — like Nerva, the old friend of Tiberius, who starved himself to death in spite of the Emperor's urgent entreaties. An ex-consul fears that he may be accused; he kills himself in order at least to have the gratification of writing in his will invectives against Tiberius and Macro.³ The heirs wished to keep this will a secret, but the Emperor would have it publicly read. He forbids Galba to draw by lot a province; he gives to others the priest's offices promised to the two Blaesi: whereupon Galba and the Blaesi commit suicide. The Emperor writes to Labeo that he renounces his friendship; Labeo opens his veins, and his wife imitates his example. One Seaurus

by Josephus, does not exhibit Tiberius as a very formidable person, except towards those of whom he was himself afraid. This Agrippa had long owed the Emperor three hundred thousand pieces of silver; the imperial governor at Jamnia purposed to arrest him in order to obtain the money. He escapes, and makes his way to Capri, where Tiberius receives him kindly and lodges him in his palace. On the morrow letters arrive from the governor; and then all the displeasure that Tiberius manifests is simply to forbid Agrippa access to the palace for the future until he shall have paid the debt. Later, a freedman of Agrippa informs against him; Tiberius imprisons the informer and refuses to investigate the accusation. But Agrippa insists. Tiberius replies that Agrippa had better be careful about entering upon a matter which, on being examined, may bring harm to him. Still Agrippa persists, and the language he is found guilty of having used might well have cost him his head; but he is let off with a very mild imprisonment (*Ant. Jud.* xvii. 8).

¹ See Suet., *Tib.* 58, and Sen., *De Benef.* iii. 26.

² Cf. Montaigne, *Essais*, book i. chap. xl., book ii. chap. iii., and Brière de Boismont, *Du suicide et de la folie-suicide*.

³ We may notice, however, that these invectives against Tiberius are not very formidable: *Multa et atrociora in Macronem ac praeceptuos libertorum Caesaris composuit, ipsi fluxam senio mentem, et continuo abscessu velut exsilium, objectando* (Tac., *Ann.* vi. 38).

is accused on account of a tragedy in which, under the figure of Atreus, Tiberius has been recognized; his wife counsels him to die rather than make answer to the charge, and herself offers him the example.¹ Gallus, for three years a prisoner, starved himself to death; one Vitellius did the same. Men thus made their escapes from the weary life of the prison, or from the public trial and the shame of the Gemoniae. Reaching the limits of a long life, satiated with pleasures, others for a moment displayed the grand courage of earlier days; they draped themselves proudly in Cato's mantle, and "to the great advantage of heroism, each chose the time at which his own drama should end,"² by an act which the Stoics considered the height of virtue, calling it the "reasonable departure."³

Apicius one day inquires of his steward how much is left to him after all his mad prodigality; he learns that it is but two and a half million drachmae. This not being enough to carry on his wonted style of living, he departs. "You have known Marcellinus," says Seneca. "He was young, he had wealth and friends and slaves; he, however, suffered from a painful malady, though not an incurable one. He asked himself whether he should not do well to be rid of physicians and of life at the same time. He called his friends together and laid the matter before them; a vote was taken on the question. A Stoic represented that life in reality did not merit so much thought, since a man shares it with animals and slaves, and it is only to eat and drink, to amuse oneself and to sleep, and always a repetition of the same things. When this becomes wearisome, one naturally prefers death. Marcellinus considered the advice good. His slaves were overcome with grief; he gave them money, consoled them, and made his final arrangements. He remained fasting for three days, and was then placed in a warm bath, where, in his enfeebled condition, he soon expired, murmuring gently how pleasant it was to feel oneself going so easily."⁴

¹ It is the same Scaurus, so much censured, of whom we have before spoken.

² Montesquieu, *Grand. et décad.* chap. xxii., in part borrowing this thought from Seneca (*Epist.* 77).

³ *Εὐλογον ἐξαγωγήν.*

⁴ Seneca cites (*Epist.* 23) the words of Epicurus: "How wearisome it is to begin life anew morning after morning." A few years later, Claudius sought to compel the senators to be present at the sessions of the Senate; many refusing to fulfil this duty of their office, he punished them, and some committed suicide: *ὥστε τινὰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀναχρήσασθαι* (Dion, lx. 11).

These were men of pleasure and *ennuyés*, who, “fatigued with their idle existence, were conscious of a bitterness hidden in the very sources of pleasure.”¹ All over-refined society has attacks of this malady; some of the five thousand annual suicides of France are certainly its victims.² In the case of accused persons the situation is different. It was for the interest both of themselves and of the Emperor that everything should be done quietly, within the palace or the villa: the latter, by avoiding the public spectacle of so many punishments, diminished the odium of condemnations, since deaths apparently voluntary seemed to be so many confessions of crime; the former, by anticipating the lictor, saved their property, their wives and children, and—in pagan belief a matter of importance—their own funerals.³ Moreover, whither could a man flee? The Empire extended so far! To conceal one’s self was neither dignified nor safe; and Roman indolence, as well as Roman pride, revolted against asking an asylum from Barbarians.

This is all true; but a time when such resolutions are possible is nevertheless an accursed epoch: and since the ruler would have had the credit of prosperity, it is right he should have the shame of murders and despair.

One of the most odious acts of the time was the assassination of Drusus. This prince merits no esteem; he had betrayed his brother and been one of the flatterers of Sejanus, and Tacitus judges him severely: but Tiberius should have respected the blood of Germanicus. The rumor having gone abroad of a reconciliation between Drusus and the Emperor, the people of Rome manifested a joy which was the young man’s death-warrant. Being condemned to death by starvation, for Tiberius would not permit the executioner to shed the blood of the Julian family, he supported

¹ Lueretius, *De Natura rerum*, iv. 1129.

² From 1871 to 1875 there has been in France an average of 5,256 suicides (*Essai de statistique morale* of Professor Morselli, Milan, 1879); the number in 1878 was 6,434, and the list includes persons in all stations of life. An inhabitant of a little town in Umbria, presenting a cemetery to his fellow-citizens, forbade the interment there of suicides or criminals (*C. I. L.*, i. 265, No. 1,418),—a custom which the Church has preserved. At Rome it was the fashion to drown one’s self from the Fabrician bridge,—*ponte Quattro Capi* (Hor., *Sat.* II. iii. 36), as Parisians hang themselves in the *Bois de Boulogne*.

³ *Eorum qui de se statuebant, humabantur corpora, manebant testamenta, pretium festinandi.* For ordinary suicides there were no funerals: *Suspendiosis*, says Varro, *justa fieri jus non est* (Servius, *Ad Aen.* xii. 603),—a custom still preserved by the Church.

life for nine days by devouring the tow with which his mattress was stuffed.

Agrippina did not outlive him; she allowed herself to die of starvation (18th October, 33 A.D.), although the guards strove, forcibly opening her mouth, to compel her to take food.¹ Tiberius basely pursued her memory, accusing her of debauchery, and causing himself to be thanked by the Senate that he had not publicly exposed upon the Gemoniae the body of a granddaughter of Augustus.² Thus, with the exception of Caligula, the whole house of Germanicus was exterminated, and the opposition which it represented drowned in blood. Despotism, whether at Rome or at Constantinople, cannot act otherwise; it must needs clear the space about it, either by exile or death. But let us quit these scenes of murder, which have justly made the reputation of Tiberius detestable, and would end by distracting our attention completely from the Empire.

The administration of Tiberius in the last years of his life had the same character of firmness and good sense that had marked its earlier



TO THE MEMORY OF
AGRIPPINA.⁵

period.³ Discipline was strictly maintained, even among the praetorians. After the death of Sejanus he gave them a largess; but he remained always their chief, never their flatterer. One of them having stolen a peacock from an orchard, he punished the soldier with death.⁴ The people having given way to fault-finding on account of the high price of grain, Tiberius reproached the consuls and the Senate

for not having repressed this license, enumerated the frumentary provinces, and proved that the importation was larger than in the time of Augustus. A decree of the Senate and an edict of the consuls, couched in terms which recalled the early severity, reduced the people to quiet and obedience. The Emperor did not even

¹ Suet., *Tib.* 53. In the Capitol is shown the urn which contained her ashes; in the Middle Ages this urn served as a standard measure for grain.

² Tac., *Ann.* vi. 25.

³ . . . τὰ γὰρ ἅλλα καὶ πᾶν πάντα δεύτως διώκει (Dion, *lvii.* 23).

⁴ Suet., *Tib.* 60.

⁵ Coin representing the *carpentum* on which the ashes of Agrippina were brought back to Rome upon the accession of Caligula.

hesitate to re-establish the tax of the hundredth, which he had at first reduced by one half.¹ The magicians had returned again to Rome, and in many cases were distracting families and the populace by their predictions; and the Emperor a second time drove them out. The admission of a new Sibylline book being proposed, Tiberius refused it, being averse to such means of government, and regarding as sufficient the oracles that Augustus had revised.

One year the informers, letting the law of treason rest, had fallen upon a regulation of Caesar, who, to combat one of the great evils of Rome, usury, had forbidden any man to keep in specie more than sixty thousand sesterces, and prescribed that the rest should be placed in lands or houses throughout Italy.² This bad economic law had quickly fallen into disuse. Men had kept their money in hand, and many made it produce them an income. The praetor, alarmed at the number of offenders, made his report to the Senate; the senators themselves were all guilty; they sought pardon from the Emperor, who allowed them a year and a half to conform to the law. A *senatus-consultum* decreed that two thirds of the sums called in should be employed in the purchase of Italian real estate. The immediate repayment of loans ruined many debtors, while the creditors, taking advantage of the delay which the law accorded them, kept their money in reserve to profit by the reduced price of lands which the borrowers were obliged to sell. Money was therefore no cheaper than before, and could only be obtained at a high rate of interest. To arrest these financial catastrophes Tiberius created a sort of loan office, establishing a fund of a hundred million sesterces, from which loans were made, without interest, for three years, on landed property of double the value.³ This banking establishment, and the abandonment of the Senate's decree for the forced purchase of lands, restored credit. A few months before the Emperor's death a fire ravaged all the Aventine, where stood the temples of Diana, of Juno Regina, of Minerva, and of Jupiter Libertas, which Augustus had restored and filled with works of art; Tiberius renewed the largesses he had made on two previous occasions, paid for the houses that had been burned, and again expended in this munificence a hundred million sesterces.⁴

¹ Dion, lix. 9; Tac., *Ann.* vi. 13.

² Dion, xli. 37.

³ *Ann.* iv. 16, 17. This is nearly the same as the measures adopted in France for the relief of commerce after 1830 and 1848.

⁴ *Ibid.* 45.

Outside Italy the provincial aristocracy was sometimes treated like that at Rome. A Macedonian noble, suspected of intrigues with a king of Thrace, was proscribed; the law against treason was fatal to two of the principal citizens of Achaia; and Marius, the richest of the Spaniards, being condemned for incest, was thrown from the Tarpeian rock.¹ In several provinces the Emperor despoiled individuals who, contrary to the law of Caesar, had too large a portion of their property in specie, and he took away from private persons and from cities the right which had been formerly conferred upon them to work mines.²

A fact related by Josephus should dispel the idea that a sordid avarice presided over the affairs of the provinces. When the tetrarch Philip died, in 34, Tiberius united his domains to Syria, but pledged himself to expend in the country all the money that he drew from it.³ To account for the formation of the treasure that he left at the time of his death,⁴ it is not necessary to believe in cruel exactions. The Emperor's rigid economy, attested by countless facts, and continued through a reign of twenty-three years, together with the confiscations pronounced at Rome, explain it fully. Besides, he persisted in his custom of keeping the same individual long in office, which assured the provincials a government well informed as to their interests. Poppaeus Sabinus had the two Moesias, Macedon, and Achaia for twenty-four years; Arruntius had Spain for more than ten years.⁵ For eight years Lentulus Gaetulicus was in

¹ Tac., *Ann.* vi. 18, 19. Tiberius confiscated the wealth of Marius and the gold-mines, which he held contrary to the law. Possibly the two Achaians may have been concerned in the plot of the false Drusus in the year 31 (*Ann.* v. 10).

² Suet., *Tib.* 49. We do not know how Tiberius authorized himself to effect this concentration of mines in the hands of the state, nor the means employed by him to accomplish it, whether confiscation, purchase, or the re-opening of mines hitherto abandoned. It is possible that the reasons indicated by Suetonius are no more accurate than is the information he furnishes concerning Vonones, — killed on account of his wealth, Suetonius says, — the cause of whose death is quite differently explained by Tacitus. On the working of the mines by farmers under Government, later replaced by the *procuratores Caesaris*, working directly for the Emperor, see the learned paper of Flach on the Bronze of Aljustrel, lately discovered.

³ *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 6.

⁴ Over \$100,000,000 accumulated in a reign of twenty-three years.

⁵ It is true that Tiberius, who was suspicious of Arruntius, kept him at Rome while leaving him his title. Nor did Lamia go to his province of Syria (*Ann.* vi. 27); but this was doubtless entirely satisfactory to him, for Lamia was one of the friends of the Emperor, and received from him a post of the highest confidence, — the prefecture of Rome (*ibid.*). Claudius

command of the army of Germany.¹ Hence the ex-consuls no longer desired these difficult positions, which exiled them for years from Rome; and Tiberius was obliged to complain in the Senate that no man was willing to go to govern the provinces or to command the armies. These refusals, which manifestly did not arise from any generous disinterestedness, are for us a sure index of the dependence in which the Emperor kept his agents,



FRIEZE FROM THE TOMB OF MAUSOLUS AT HALICARNASSUS.²

and the good administration that he required of them.³ Two of the most important provinces, Africa and Syria, had at the time of the Emperor's death governors of rare probity, says Tacitus, men of antique virtue; in Egypt, the administration of the prefect Flaccus was above reproach, even in the eyes of Philo, his mortal enemy, so long as Tiberius lived.⁴ Accordingly, attempts

was obliged to compel by law the governors who were slow in going to their posts to leave Rome before the middle of April: *βραδέως . . . ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξορμωμένοις* (Dion, lx. 17).

¹ Tac., *Ann.* vi. 30. Cf. Dion, liii. 14; lviii. 23.

² British Museum (from Ross, *Reisen auf den Griech. Inseln*, iv. 30).

³ Sidon and Damascus disputed as to their boundary-lines. The people of Damascus gave a great sum of money to Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great, to induce him to employ in their behalf his influence with Flaccus, governor of Syria. The latter, learning this, was extremely angry with Agrippa, and expelled him from his house. Few governors in the time of the Republic had been of such stern integrity (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 8).

⁴ These governors were Silanus and Vitellius. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* vi. 32; Dion, lix. 8; and

made from time to time were without effect. Tacfarinas in Africa could gather only vagabonds and bandits; Florus could not raise an insurrection in Belgica, nor Sacrovir in Gaul. In Greece a false Drusus appeared after the death of Sejanus, made a few dupes, and disappeared; and Tacitus cannot tell us what became of him.

These facts prove more in favor of the administration of Tiberius than does the wordy embassy of Smyrna, Halicarnassus, and nine other cities of Asia, disputing the honor of building him a temple.¹ To us those demonstrations are sacrilegious and servile; but to the ancients they were no more so than would be, with us, the erection of a statue to a living ruler. They meant no more than this; but they did mean that Asia was content with the government of Tiberius.

On the frontiers peace was disturbed, but only for the moment, by a revolt of the Frisii in the year 28. A centurion in command in their country required for tribute skins of the bison (aurochs) instead of ox-hides; the Frisii expelled him and killed a few Romans whom they surprised on the edge of a wood. Tiberius was unwilling to enter on a war beyond the Rhine which might set all Germany in commotion, and he left the Frisii free of tribute.

Upon the Euphrates the Roman policy had received another check. On the death of the king established on the throne of Armenia by Germanicus, Artabanus had caused his son Arsaces to be recognized king of the country; he had then claimed, together with the treasures in Syria, the whole of Asia Minor (35 A.D.). Tiberius did not disturb himself at this. He chose one of his most judicious officers, the wise and prudent Vitellius, and invested him with supreme authority in the provinces of the East.² To this concentration of all the Roman forces in Asia he added even surer methods. A prince of Iberia, Mithridates, was encouraged

Philo, *In Flaccum*, pp. 965, 966. Under Tiberius, he says (p. 980 b, d), all governors who changed their authority into tyranny were accused at Rome, and judged without hatred or favor, in accordance with justice.

¹ One of the arguments offered by Halicarnassus is that for twelve hundred years the city had experienced no shocks of earthquake, and that she could build the temple on a steadfast rock (*Tac., Ann. iv. 55*).

² *Cunctis quae apud Orientem parabantur . . . praefecit* (*Ann. vi. 32*).

to make conquest of the throne of Armenia; even at Ctesiphon an intrigue was set on foot among the disaffected Parthian nobles,¹ and one of the Arsacides detained at Rome was sent into Syria. This prince having been carried off by a malady, another was substituted for him; finally, by bribes, Vitellius induced the tribes of the Caucasus to open to the Alanni the Caspian gates, and let loose these Barbarians upon the rear of the Parthian Empire.² This plan was successful; Artabanus, twice defeated in Armenia, and threatened with a universal revolt, fled to the Scythii, while Vitellius, crossing the river without resistance, presented Tiridates to the crowd who rushed to meet the legions. The incapacity of the new prince rendered the chances almost immediately favorable to his rival. Driven out of Ctesiphon, he took refuge within the territory of the Empire; but Artabanus, rendered wise by misfortune, hastened to treat with Vitellius, giving him his son Darius as hostage, with large presents for the Emperor.³ Tiberius, more fortunate than Augustus, could boast in his last moments of having imposed peace upon the Parthians, after showing them the Roman eagles in the midst of their territory.

The Emperor had now attained his seventy-eighth year, and for some time his strength had been failing; his mind, however, remained active. He affected gayety, to hide the decline which struck the eyes of all; and crossing over to the coast of Campania, he made short journeys from place to place, finally stopping at Cape Misenum, in a villa which had formerly belonged to Lucullus. Charicles, a skilful physician, came there to see him,—but not professionally, for Tiberius was accustomed to ridicule those who, after the age of thirty, had need that others should teach them what was good or bad for their health.⁴ Charicles, in taking

¹ One of them, the governor of Mesopotamia, had served under Tiberius in Dalmatia, and had been rewarded with the title of Roman citizen (*Ann.* vi. 37). Josephus expressly says that Vitellius bought over the kindred and friends of Artabanus (*Ant. Jud.* xviii. 6).

² *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 4.

³ Suetonius (*Cal.* 14) and Dion (lix. 27) place the interview of Vitellius and Artabanus after the accession of Caligula. Suetonius (*Tib.* 66) speaks even of a letter from Artabanus full of the most outrageous invective. But I prefer to follow the testimony of the two Jewish writers, who were almost eye-witnesses of the events. Josephus said (*Ant. Jud.* xviii. 6) that after peace had been made with the Parthians, Vitellius, by order of Tiberius, was on his way to attack the Nabathaeans, when he received news of the Emperor's death; and Philo declares that Tiberius had nowhere left to his successor a germ or spark of war (*Leg. ad Caium*, p. 1012 c.).

⁴ Tac., *Ann.* vi. 46.

leave of Tiberius, felt his pulse on pretence of kissing his hand, and discerned that the Emperor's death was at hand. The intention did not escape Tiberius; but instead of punishing it, he ordered a banquet to be prepared, and remained at table longer than usual, as if to do honor to a friend who was about to leave him. Charicles, however, made known to Macro that the Emperor had not two days to live. On the 16th of March he fell into a swoon, which lasted a long time; on recovering, he called for his slaves; and as no person replied, he rose from his bed, sustained by the energy of his will, but fell dead upon the floor (16th March, 37 A. D.).¹

We have endeavored to show Tiberius in his real character, — loving neither pomp nor tumult nor the crowd; despising adulation to the degree that he found his Senate too cringing;² braving hatred; scorning to flatter the people as much as he scorned their applause; measuring good and ill by the one standard of utility; of firm and active, but gloomy and severe mind, without prejudices or beliefs, except a faith in destiny,³ and, like it, impassible and implacable; suspicious, because he everywhere encountered sycophancy and treason; finally, cruel, because he felt himself menaced. Isolated, unsupported, without defender interested in his cause, he struck about him as an old lion creates desolation around his lair. Thus regarded, this great historic figure is perhaps less tragic, but I believe it more true.

Certainly no one loves this man, in whose breast no human feeling seemed to throb. Nature, education, and his own labor gave him a severe and lofty intellect, and circumstances made him

¹ Many accounts were current concerning the death of Tiberius. Some maintained that Caius had given him a slow poison, — as if his seventy-eight years were not a sufficient explanation; others asserted that he was smothered under a mattress. The latter account, as the more tragic, is preferred by Tacitus. We give the preference to that of Seneca, who was at Rome at that time, and must have been well informed.

² Suet., *Tib.* 27. One of his customary sayings was: *Odorint dum probent* (*ibid.* 59), or again: *O homines ad servitutem paratos!* (*Ann.* iii. 65).

³ Suet., *Tib.* 69. Hence his credulity in respect to judicial astrology, — a weakness which has prevailed too long for us to have the right of too much blaming him on this account. We shall rather reproach him for his indifference to the arts (*Id.*, *ibid.* 47); although, like the good manager that he was, he finished the public buildings that had been begun, and watched over the preservation of those that existed (Tac., *Ann.* vi. 45; Dion, lvii. 10), but putting his name on none. We may also attribute to the terrorism that prevailed during his latter years the absolute literary nullity of the epoch of Tiberius quite as much as to the absence of superior minds.



CAPE MISENUM: RUINS OF A THEATRE WHICH BELONGED TO THE VILLA OF LUCULLUS.



a detestable tyrant. No one would seek to justify the cruelties of his later years: blood that is shed forever cries from the ground; but we must remember that there have been tyrannies more odious and more guilty, because voluntary.

Tiberius accepted the struggle which, sooner or later, was sure to come among a people lacking both institutions and those moral habits which often take their place, and whose life consequently must be, with but rare exceptions, a continual revolution. Now we ourselves know what justice means in time of revolution. One of the members of the French revolutionary tribunal said: "We are not judges; they are not prisoners at the bar! We are political enemies, they and we." This is the reason why to inspire suspicion is to be an offender, and to be an offender is to be a criminal. It was a miserable time, when false logic hardened the heart and stifled the voice of conscience. Better glorious inconsistencies and all the chances of a generous imprudence, than these lists where men killed each other with forms of law; and we cannot admit that the lictor's axe was the sole means of government left to Tiberius after the death of Sejanus.

His situation was more difficult than that of Augustus, but it was possible for him to continue his predecessor's policy. He preferred, however, brutally to tear away the veil with which Augustus had concealed his despotism. The Senate, the equestrian order, all the high society of Rome trembled before him; and in his turn he trembled before all.¹ But the government and the morals of a country are intimately united. As liberty elevates men, so tyranny debases them. It speculates upon evil passions; by so doing, excites them; and society suffers both in its political interests and in its moral welfare. Fear brought demoralization; the citizen's pride being crushed, the man's dignity gave way, and the level of the public conscience was lowered. These humiliated souls could no longer oppose to vice the best of safeguards, self-respect. Such are the fruits of despotism; Augustus sowed the seed, and Tiberius and some of his successors reaped the harvest.

Four years earlier, the chief priests of Judaea brought before the procurator a man whom they accused of calling himself the King of the Jews and the Son of God. Pilate found no fault in

¹ *Timet timentes, metus in auctorem redit* (Sen., *Oedip.* act iii.).

him, and this kingdom of the truth seemed a very trivial danger to the Roman governor, who would willingly have released the victim. But to Pilate, as to his master, public order was of more consequence than justice; he gave way in cowardly terror before the threatened riot. "I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it," he said; and the crime was committed.¹

Tiberius had seen fall before him three heroes of a national resistance to the Romans, — Arminius, Tacfarinas, and Sacrovir; but the hero of humanity triumphed in his death. The arms of Christ nailed upon the cross of Calvary were to embrace the world,² and were to grasp upon their throne the heirs of Caesar and hurl them thence.

¹ The date of the death of Jesus Christ varies between the years 27 and 33, the latter date being the one generally accepted. Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici*) prefers the year 29. [His birth is placed at the end of 749 A. U. C., or about 4 B. C. — ED.]

² Michel Angelo says in one of his sonnets, addressed to Vasari: *Amor divino ch' aperse a prender noi in croce le braccio.*

³ TI. CAESAR. DIVI AVG. F. AVGVST. IMP. VIII., surrounding the laurelled head of the Emperor. Bronze coin of Tiberius.



COIN OF TIBERIUS.³

CHAPTER LXXIV.

CALIGULA AND CLAUDIUS (37-54 A.D.).

I. — CALIGULA (37-41).

BORN on the 31st of August in the year 12 A.D., Caligula, whose true name, that of official acts and of coins, was Caius Caesar, had nearly completed his twenty-fifth year. The old Emperor preferred to him Tiberius Gemellus, his own grandson; but he allowed his personal wishes to give way to what he considered the public interest. The young Tiberius was but seventeen years of age, and Caligula, being older, seemed more capable of ruling; moreover, to select the youth as emperor would have probably been to insure his death. Tiberius therefore contented himself with bequeathing to his grandson a part of his private fortune and of the imperial prerogatives; but the Senate set aside this will, and conferred all powers on Caligula alone.²



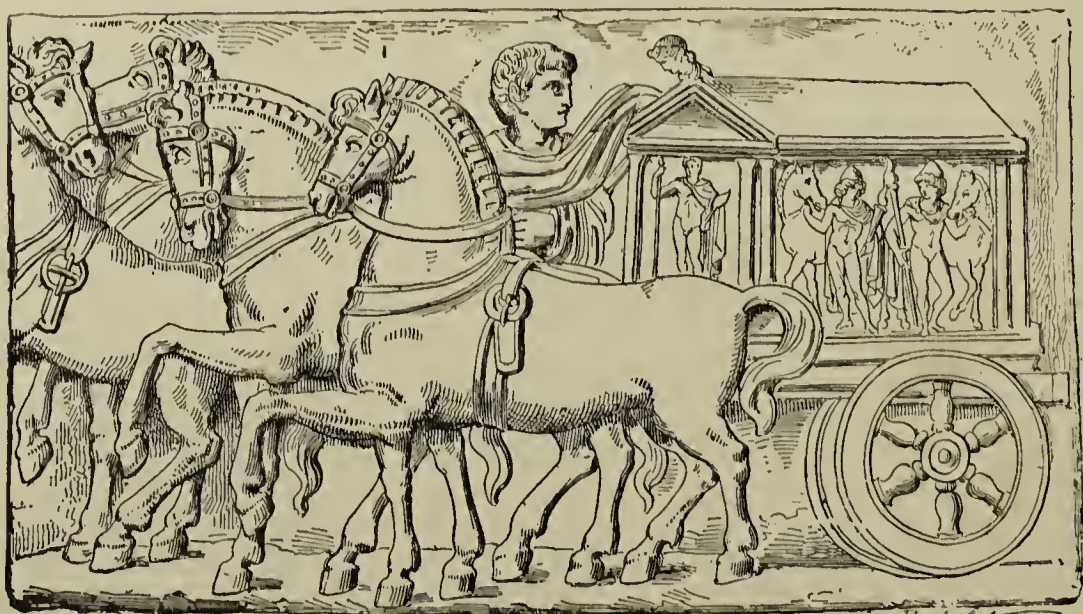
CALIGULA.¹

The funeral rites of the dead Emperor were observed without much pomp, and with still less grief. None of the honors were decreed him which had been decreed to Augustus: the Senate did not pledge itself to swear by his acts, nor was he apotheosized,—all of which was nearly equivalent to declaring him a tyrant. Also his name was never placed on the list of Emperors in the oath taken every year by the new consuls. But I think that if Tiberius had been able, as Pliny says, to witness this conduct, he would have cared but little for the affronts offered to his memory, and still less for the divinity that they refused him.

¹ C. CAESAR DIVI AVG(usti) PRON(epos) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunica) P(otestas) III P(ater) P(atriae), surrounding laurelled head of Caius Caesar. Bronze coin.

² *Jus arbitriumque omnium rerum illi permissum est* (Suet., Tib. 14).

Rome, wearied by the gloomy despotism which had just ended, saluted with acclamations the opening reign of the son of Germanicus. The new Emperor at first justified all hopes. He paid great honor to the memory of his mother and his two brothers, going piously in person to seek their ashes; and to remove all fear of further punishments, he burned the papers of Tiberius. He forbade accusations of treason, recalled those who had been sent into exile, opened the prisons, and relieved from the sentence



THE ASHES OF AGRIPPINA BROUGHT BACK TO ROME (BRITISH MUSEUM).¹

which had condemned them those other victims of Augustus and Tiberius,—the writings of Labienus, Cremutius Cordus, and Severus. “Let men read them,” he said; “I am more interested than any one else is, that posterity should know all.” To his grandmother Antonia he decreed the same honors that had been paid to Livia; to his sister, the prerogatives of the Vestals; and to his uncle Claudius, the consulship. He adopted Gemellus, and conferred upon him the title of *Princeps Juventutis*. The people and the soldiers received largesses which doubled the legacy of Tiberius.²

¹ Caligula caused the ashes of his mother to be borne to the circus in a *carpentum*. The coin represented on page 486, and the alto-relievo in the British Museum given on this page, are memorials of that occasion. The car with four horses of the Museum represents on the front Mercury, guide of souls, and on the side the Dioscuri.

² Tiberius had left two hundred and fifty drachmas to each soldier of the praetorian guard, and Caligula doubled the sum (Dion, lix. 2). The urban cohorts had a hundred and twenty-five drachmas apiece, the legions eighty-five, the people seventy-five; and in



Chartier

BARBAN

CALIGULA IN HEROIC COSTUME. (STATUE FOUND AT OTRICOLI. — VATICAN, MUSEO-PIO CLEM., NO. 262.)

At the same time the odious tax on sales of merchandise was repealed throughout all Italy. The magistrates were restored to the full exercise of their rights, without appeal to the Emperor from their sentences, and the electoral comitia were re-established; but neither candidates nor electors appeared. Finally, when he took possession of the consulship he pronounced in the curia a discourse filled with such magnificent promises that the Senate, to bind the Emperor by his own words, decreed that the imperial harangue should be solemnly read aloud every year.

With this worthy son of Germanicus, freedom and pleasure returned to Rome; the minds of men, so long oppressed, recovered their tone, and all voices, lately mute, broke out into joyous acclamations. There were *fêtes* and games and public shows; the golden age of Augustus had returned. Was not this something better than liberty? A young Emperor who gave everything to everybody. Incense smoked perpetually upon the altars, whither the white-robed throng, crowned with flowers, hastened daily to thank the gods for having given such a prince to the world. In three months a hundred and sixty thousand victims had been sacrificed; and the Senate, not to remain behind, decreed that the day of Caligula's accession should be celebrated as that of a new founding of Rome.

What alarm, then, when, in the eighth month of his reign, Caligula fell ill! Every night the people besieged the palace to have news of him, and there were even some who offered their lives to the gods in exchange for his.

The malady arose from shameful excesses. "Caius," said the Jew Philo, who saw the Emperor at Rome, "had changed his earlier mode of life, which, in the time of Tiberius, had been sober, for one very sumptuous. For all the talk was of drinking much undiluted wine and eating much food; and though the stomach was full, and burdened with all these things, gluttony was not satiated. Then followed baths and emetics, and immediately thereafter again drunkenness and gluttony, its comrade, and lewdness with boys and women, and other like vices which destroy both soul and body." As for Caius, his body withstood this ordeal, but not his mind. This unnamed disorder developed in him a sort of

addition to this, eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas were left to be divided among all the citizens.

furious madness; he became such as it is said Tiberius had predicted. "I let him live," said the old man, "but it will be for his own and the world's bane."

During his illness he had constituted his sister Drusilla heiress of all his property and of the Empire. Some time after, he married



CALIGULA AND DRUSILLA.²

her; and when she died he made a goddess of her, under the name of Panthea¹ (38 A. D.). Gemellus caused him anxiety, and was accordingly put to death. The virtuous Antonia reproaching him with his crimes, he poisoned her, or caused her to take her own life. Macro had been his confidant and protector in the time of Tiberius, but he now put to death him and his wife. Silanus, his father-in-law, shared the same fate. His sister Julia Livilla, after being the plaything of his caprices, was expelled from the palace

and exiled to a desert island. Persons exiled, to whom the law left their fortunes and the imperial regulations allowed certain advantages, appeared to him to be leading far too easy lives, and he had them put to death; until there remained not a single great family in Rome that was not in mourning. One of the rights dearest to Roman citizens had been to be exempt in all cases from corporal punishment. A quaestor was beaten with rods, and senators were put to the torture. An old



JULIA LIVILLA.³

¹ The senator Livius Geminus took oath that he had seen her ascend to heaven; and this obsequiousness was rewarded by an imperial gift of two hundred thousand drachmas (Dion, liv. 2). See, p. 173, n. 2, an inscription in honor of "the divine Drusilla."

² Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 219. The Emperor is laurelled, and wears the *paludamentum*; Drusilla wears the diadem. Sardonyx of three layers.

³ Bronze coin of Mitylene, with the inscription: IOYAIAN NEAN TEPMANIKOY; in the field, MYT.

man, an ex-consul, came one day to thank the Emperor for not having taken away his life, and Caligula gave him his foot to kiss. He found it amusing to oblige those who during his illness had made imprudent vows to keep their word. One of them hesitated; he was covered with vervain and ribands like a victim prepared for sacrifice, then given up to a troop of children, who pursued him through the streets, reminding him of his vow, as far as the Tarpeian Rock, whence he was pushed off.¹

After Drusilla he successively took away from their husbands two matrons, whom he married, — only to repudiate them forthwith and send them into exile. A third, Caesonia, was better able to retain his fancy; but at the price of what terrors! He would like, he said, to put her to the torture, to know why he loved her so much; or this: "Let me but make a sign, and this

dear head will fall." He amused himself with cruel jokes towards his friends. He loved to speak in the Senate, and he invited the whole equestrian order to come and listen to him. In the



CALIGULA AND DRUSILLA.²

¹ A little city in Lusitania had also devoted itself for the Emperor's recovery, but had prudently done nothing more than engage to fight his enemies, — which assured to the town all the profit of this adulation without laying upon it any very formidable duty (Wilmanns, 2,839).

² Group in the Gallery of Florence (Gori, pl. 93).

palace he strove in rivalry with charioteers from the circus, gladiators, and buffoons. Three ex-consuls were one day solemnly called together to hear him sing! It was Nero in advance.

He was indeed an insane tyrant, playing with the fortunes and lives of his subjects; one of those malevolent beings who kill for the pleasure of killing; and his reign was the orgy of power. For the honor of humanity we are compelled to believe that the attacks of epilepsy from which he suffered when a child, and the late disorder with which he had been afflicted, had so enfeebled his mind that it gave way under the strain of boundless authority. It is rarely that the sudden change from circumstances of constraint and terror to a position of unlimited power can be made with impunity. Caius was at the period of life when the countenance blooms with youth; but a pallid complexion, sunken eyes, and hollow temples, together with premature baldness, gave him the aspect of an old man. His sleepless nights, his inordinate activity, and his fever of debauchery show an unsound body as well as a perverse mind, — *turbata mens*, says Tacitus.

CAESONIA.¹

It has been believed that in the case of Caligula, as of Tiberius, history has been too severe, and that Suetonius and Dion have gathered a mass of anecdotes of which the credibility is far from certain. It may be that certain details of his life have been exaggerated, and that the follies which this troubled spirit could commit unawares have been overstated. But throughout his reign we find nothing of the administrative sagacity of Tiberius. This man, yesterday a slave, has no other idea than how to make men tremble before him; he takes pleasure in causing terror to his wives, his favorites, to all who approach him. "Let men hate me, if only they fear me," he was wont to say. He had a monomaniac desire of power, and studied before a mirror to make himself appear terrible. He would have neither counsellors nor ministers; and, with an ostentation of power,

¹ Head of Caesonia on a bronze coin of Carthago Nova; in the field, SAL. AVG., the Health of the Emperor, — a singular legend for a coin struck with the head of the woman who, in order to attach her husband to her, administered to him love-philters, which appear to have been potious aggravating his malady (Suet., *Caius*, 50).

provoked peoples and individuals, without considering that the Germans might reply with a dangerous war; the Jews, whose faith he insulted, with a revolt; the populace of Rome, subjected to a tax, with a riot; the senators, whose lives he threatened, with conspiracies; and Chaereas, whom he maltreated, with a dagger thrust. In the midst of a banquet he began suddenly to laugh; and the consuls inquiring what might be the amusing idea which enlivens the Emperor, "I was thinking," he said, "how with one word I could have you both strangled." This idea of imperial omnipotence is his only statecraft, and with a maniac's tenacity he pushes it to its last consequences. He makes himself a god upon earth, and believes in his own divinity. "I have power over everything and over every person," he says (*omnia mihi et in omnes licere*).¹ With the conditions of power established by Augustus, this was logic; but it was the logic of a madman.



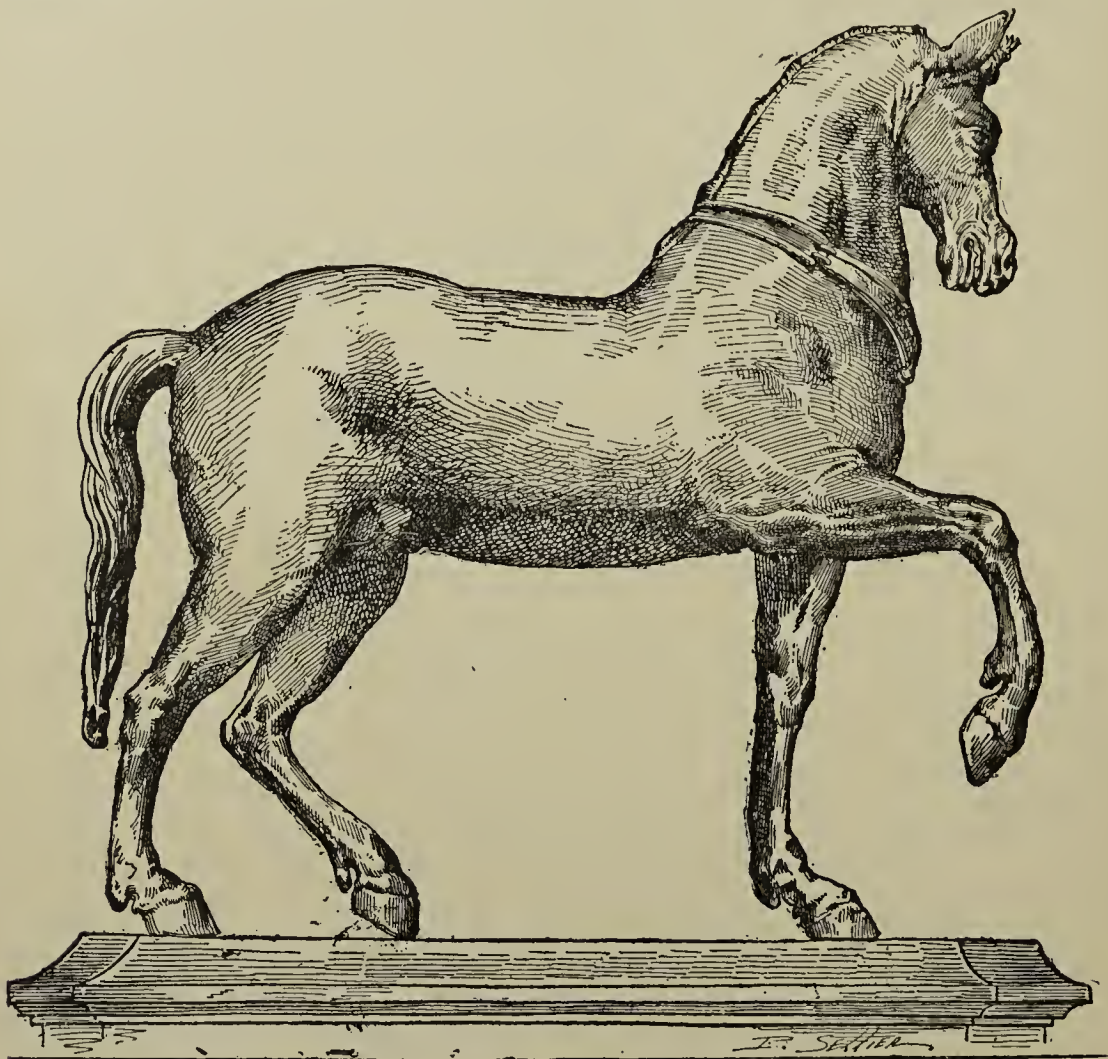
STATUE OF CALIGULA (FARNESE MUSEUM).

Mad he was assuredly when, seated between the statues of Castor and Pollux, he caused himself to be publicly adored in the open Forum; when he successively assumed the costumes and names of all the gods; when he went to converse in the Capitol with his brother Jupiter, sometimes threatening and defying him: "Kill me," he cried, "or else I will kill you;"² or when, during a storm, he answered back the lightning by hurling into the air

¹ Suet., *Calig.* 29. This was, indeed, the recognized theory. *Jure civili*, says Seneca (*De Benef.* vii. 4), *omnia regis sunt . . . ad reges potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas*; and ch. 6: *Caesar omnia habet, fiscus ejus privata tantum ac sua; et universa in imperio ejus sunt, in patrimonio propria*. Louis XIV. was wont to speak thus.

² Sen., *De Ira*, i. 20, and Dion, lix. 28.

great stones from a machine, with heavy roar, to imitate the noise of the thunder. The most venerated sanctuaries were profaned. He ordered the statue of Jupiter to be brought to him from Olympia, and commanded that his own image should be set up at Jerusalem in the temple of Jehovah, — the most cruel of insults to the Jews. Fortunately Petronius, the governor of Syria, took upon himself



BRONZE HORSE IN THE MUSEUM AT NAPLES.¹

to gain time by directing the workmen to proceed slowly with the statue. Had the tyrant lived, this prudence would have cost Petronius his life. The same fate awaited Memmius, who, in Greece, had dared to disobey the order, reporting threatening presages, in the hope of saving the great work of Pheidias. Augustus and Tiberius permitted the Greeks of Asia to build temples to

¹ Monaco, *Le Musée national de Naples*, pl. 97.

them; Caius took possession for himself of the one which the Milesians were erecting to Apollo, and he ordered the construction of others in Rome itself, where he instituted in his own honor sacrifices and priests,—a strange priesthood, indeed, for he had made his horse, Incitatus, one of the new order, and proposed also to make the animal consul! It was a way of insulting the republican magistracy.

The veracity of those who relate these mad acts will perhaps be doubted; but any one who reads the *Legation* of Philo, which is a sort of official document, cannot hesitate to believe that Caius was quite in earnest about his own divinity. Philo, a person of importance in his own nation, and one of the eminent men of this age, had come to Rome with four other deputies to claim justice in behalf of the Alexandrian Jews. The first time that Caius saw the envoys he said to them, gnashing his teeth: “Do you not belong to that nation who are enemies of the gods, and, when all men recognize my divinity, despise me, and prefer to my worship that of your nameless God?” And again: “Those fools, who will not believe that I share the divine nature!” “The cause of the hatred that Caius bore to our nation,” says Philo, “was his conviction that the Jews would never agree to his wish to be considered God.” These words render probable the following conversation between Caligula and Vitellius, reported by Dion: “You know Diana is my wife. Do you see her when she comes to visit me?” “O master, it is only permitted to you gods to see each other.” And this Vitellius was one of the great personages of the Empire.

Shall we go on to tell of his frantic extravagances, his suppers costing ten million sesterces, his floating villa, vessels decorated with



NEPTUNE OF THE LYONS
MUSEUM.¹

¹ Beautiful bronze statue found at Lyons in March, 1859, in the bed of the Rhône and near its left shore, between the bridges of the Hôtel-Dieu and of the Guillotière. Height, fifty-nine inches. (In the Museum of Lyons.)

purple, gold, and gems, bearing trees, vines, gardens, and porticoes, and of that bridge thrown across the sea between Baiae and Puteoli, thirty-six hundred paces long, made into a high road resembling the Appian Way? He went over it himself on horseback, in full armor, the troops following him with their standards, for it was an enemy conquered, Neptune. However, the Emperor had been afraid of him, and before entering upon the bridge had offered a sacrifice to appease the sea-god's anger, and had made another offering to Envy, in order to turn away, he said, all unfriendly influences. The next day there was a chariot race, the Emperor leading, in the costume of the charioteers of the circus; then a splendid *fête* by torch-light; and, for a last pastime, the guests thrown at random into the sea. In less than two years he had spent all the vast hoard of Tiberius;¹ condemnations supplied more money. One of the victims had less wealth than was believed. "I was deceived about him," Caius said; "he might have lived." He required a share in all fortunes disposed of by will; and if the testator kept him waiting too long for his legacy, the Emperor would send him poison. However, he was not pleased with speedy deaths; he would have his victims killed slowly. "Strike so that they may feel themselves dying," he said to the executioner.

Taxes of all kinds were established, — two and a half per cent on all sums in litigation before the tribunals of the Empire; taxes on porters, on courtesans, and even, which was more serious, on all articles of food offered for sale in Rome. These taxes were levied before they had been publicly announced; and when there arose complaint, he caused the decree to be written in so small characters, and put up so high, that it could not be read, — which gave him the opportunity to find many people guilty of disobedience. Thus the people and the Emperor, so much in harmony at the beginning of the reign, ended by having no mutual goodwill; the former murmured, the latter punished. One day, in the theatre, the soldiers charged the audience; another time there was a scarcity of criminals to throw to the wild beasts, and the Emperor ordered the spectators to be taken instead.

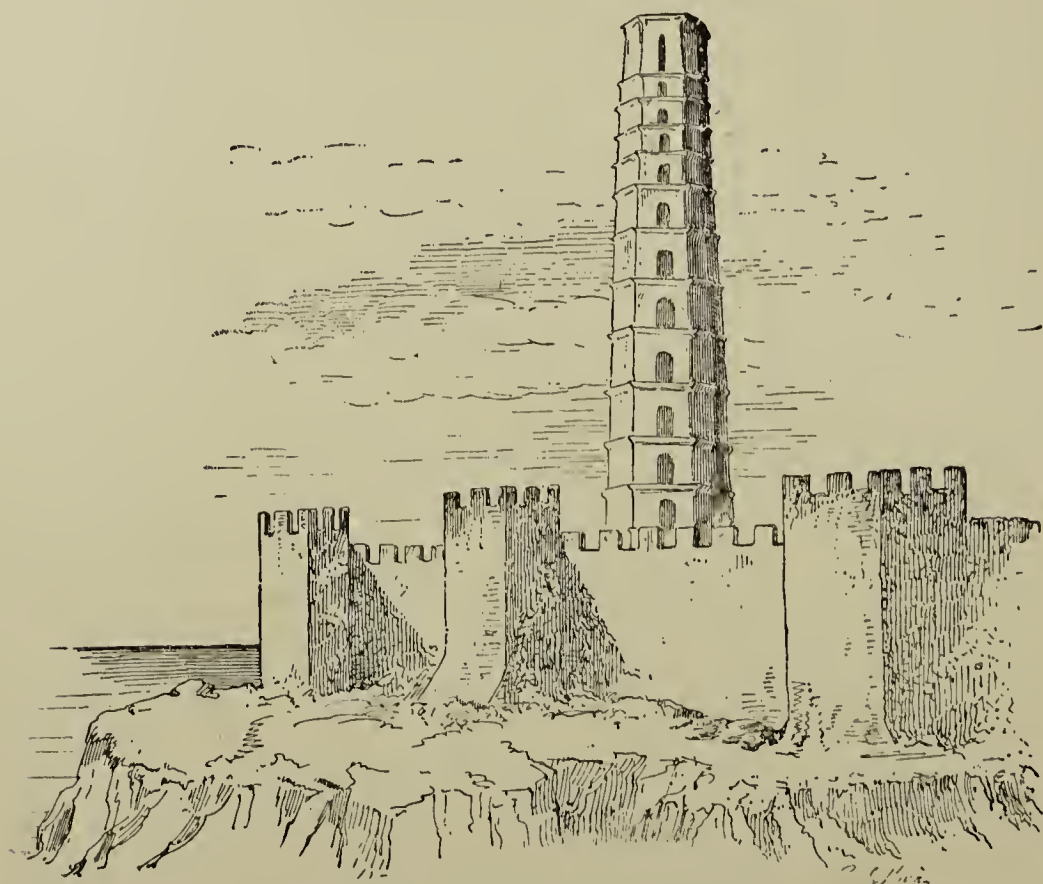
He is malicious, and also envious. All fame of other men

¹ See above, p. 488, n. 4.

irritates him, and he would suppress history if he were able, as he suppresses the individuals who are in his way. He causes the statues of illustrious men erected by Augustus in the Campus Martius to be thrown down; he proscribes the poems of Homer, and endeavors to drive Livy out of the libraries as a false and bad historian. The science of the juriconsults seemed to him useless; he often said that he would render it needless to consult any other authority than himself. Family traditions were held by him in no more respect. He prohibited to the noblest Romans their family distinctions; to Torquatus the collar, to Cincinnatus the hair worn in curls, to Cn. Pompeius the surname Magnus.

“This prince, who seemed to live only to show,” says Seneca, “what the greatest vices could do in circumstances of the highest fortune,” notwithstanding, coveted military glory. In the year 39 he set off suddenly from Rome and made a journey to the banks of the Rhine; here he set on foot great preparations, and even crossed the river. But on a false rumor of the enemy’s approach he threw himself from his chariot, dashed on horseback to the bridge, and finding it encumbered with baggage trains, caused himself to be passed from man to man over their heads, in order the sooner to reach the left bank. He could not, however, disguise from himself that it was not thus that Caesar fought; and to efface the memory of this panic, he planned another campaign. During a banquet it was announced to him that the Germans had appeared; he valiantly left the table, went out against the enemy, and returned in the evening with some prisoners. These were the soldiers of his German guard, whom he had ordered to conceal themselves in a neighboring wood. Upon this he wrote to the Senate, reproaching them for their idleness and self-indulgence, while their Emperor was exposing himself to fatigues and dangers for the sake of Rome. Some real Germans at this time made an incursion into Gaul; and Galba defeating them, the Emperor had for once a lucid interval, and rewarded the general instead of punishing him. A British chieftain having presented himself before Caligula, the latter at once decided on a great expedition into Britain (40 A. D.). The story is that the legions, having arrived on the shore of Gaul opposite the island, were ranged in

battle array, and that Caligula with his fleet sailed out a short distance, tacked, and came in again; then landed and seated himself on a throne prepared upon the shore, and ordered all the trumpeters of the army to sound an attack. The legions looked about for an enemy; and Caligula showed them the sea, and ordered



CALIGULA'S LIGHTHOUSE AT BOULOGNE.¹

them to pick up the shells scattered along the shore. These were the spoils of Ocean, and he reserved them for the imperial palace and the Capitol.² A monument immortalized this victory: a light-

¹ This lighthouse was standing as late as the year 1644, when it fell. It was called *la tour d'Ordre*. It was octagonal, made of different colored stones, with twelve stories, each a foot and a half less in width than the one below it. Each face of the first story was 24 feet in length, which made 192 in circuit and about 63 in diameter. It is believed that the height was about equal to the circumference. The origin of the name was either *Turris ardens*, or *Hosdre*, the name of an adjacent farm. Henry VIII. of England, having taken Boulogne in 1544, surrounded the tower with four bastions, making a fortress of it (E. Allard, *Travaux publics de la France*, p. 22).

² Merivale has no faith in this grotesque story, and I agree with him in thinking that probably vague promises of submission brought to him by some British chief authorized Caligula in limiting his expedition as he did.

house was erected on the very spot to guide in future days the passage of his fleets over this conquered sea. He had already seven times caused himself to be proclaimed imperator; but nothing less than a triumph was sufficient now to recompense such glorious deeds.

In order to have captives to march behind his chariot, he carried off all the Gauls of lofty stature, or, as he said, "of triumphal height," obliging them to clothe themselves like their neighbors of Germany, to learn their language, to let their hair grow long and dye it red.

The soldiers no doubt laughed at these strange victories, profiting, however, by the largesses thus procured for them. Once



FOCULUS, OR BRAZIER, IN THE MUSEUM AT LYONS.

they themselves were menaced. Caligula, at a loss for amusements, chanced to remember, in the midst of the German legions, that twenty-five years before they had revolted against Germanicus, his father. Under pretext of haranguing them, he called them, unarmed, around his tribunal; and the cavalry were already making a ring outside to decimate them, when the soldiers, suspecting danger, ran to their tents and snatched their arms. The design had failed; Caius left his discourse unfinished, abandoned his project, and fled.

In the interval of the military labors which detained him two years in Gaul,—to the misfortune of that country,—he lived in the midst of banquets and executions, mingling them with each other while he sat at table; for he had always an executioner at hand ready to put a man to the torture, or to put to death

some provincial whose crime was his wealth. Every seven days he settled his accounts, periodically preparing lists of persons whose fortunes were necessary to him. The registers of the provinces were brought him, and he marked for death, in proportion to his needs, those who were best able to supply him.

One day, having lost at the gaming table, he went out for a moment, selected a few names at random from his registers, then returning, said to his companions at play: "You gain but a few drachmas when you win, while I at one stroke add a hundred and fifty millions to my property."

At Lyons another whim possessed him,—he sold the wardrobe of the imperial palace and the furniture of his villa. He acted as auctioneer himself; and it was necessary to pay, not what the object was worth, but for the associations attached to it, and especially for the rank of the auctioneer. "This," he said, "belonged to my father, Germanicus; this vase is Egyptian, it was the property of Antony, my ancestor; the divine Augustus wore this mantle on the day of Actium;" and the gold pieces fell into the hand of the imperial huckster. All the wearing apparel of the Caesars, the cast-off garments of the demigods of Rome, passed under the hammer. One day, as he was selling what remained of the material of certain entertainments that he had given, he observed Saturninus asleep on a bench. "Keep watch on the ex-praetor," Caligula said to the crier; "he nods his head to let me know that he wants to buy." And at every motion of the luckless sleeper the sum went higher. When Saturninus awoke, he found that he owed nine million sesterces; but he had bought thirteen gladiators.

Augustus had established at Lyons contests in eloquence and poetry. Caligula added to the rules of the games that the vanquished should themselves pay the prizes gained by the victors, and that authors of unsuccessful writings should efface them with their tongue; the alternative being to leap into the Rhone. A Gaul, however, had the honor one day of telling the Emperor what he thought about him. Caligula was seated, in the character of the Olympian Jupiter, grave and silent, as became a god. The man of the people made his way through the crowd, approached the Emperor, and stood gazing at him like one amazed.

The god, flattered by the impression, inquired of the man what he thought of him. "What do I think of you?" rejoined the man; "I think that you are a very great fool." Caius was in good humor that day, and pardoned the frankness. The bold Gaul was, it is true, only a poor shoemaker.

A Roman did not fare so well,—rather, we may say, fared better, since Seneca has consecrated his name and his courage. Canus Julius had had a sharp altercation with Caligula, and had maintained his cause very independently. "Be satisfied," said Caligula, dismissing him, "I've ordered your execution." "Thanks, excellent prince," replied Canus; and he passed in the most perfect tranquillity of mind the ten days given him by the law of Tiberius. He was playing at dice when the centurion came to him. "Wait," he said, "till I count the points." His friends beginning to weep, he said to them: "Why do you lament? You dispute with each other whether the soul is immortal, and I am going to find it out." "What are you thinking of?" one of them said to him at the moment when he was about to be struck. "I am curious to observe," he said, "whether in this moment the soul is conscious of quitting the body."¹

But let us leave to Suetonius and Dion the shameful history of the third Caesar. To relate it we should require their language, which hesitates at no word, no fact. What profit can we find in associating longer with this monster of cynicism and cruelty? He gives us the measure of what Rome could endure in the way of tyranny; but do we not know it already?

It will not be useless, however, to relate one last scene, in which we shall see to what degree of insolence Caligula had risen, to what degree of baseness the Senate had fallen.

Caius had long decried Tiberius, and encouraged those who spoke ill of him. On a certain occasion, however, he pronounced in the curia one of those discourses which he believed destined to secure him the reputation of being the greatest orator of his time. His theme was the praise of Tiberius and the decrying

¹ Sen., *De Tranq. an.* 14. Dion (lix. 9) attributes, however, to Caligula one good measure,—the equestrian order being considerably reduced, he added to it many provincials. To diminish the power of the proconsul of Africa, he gave the command of the legion which was kept in that province to the legate of Numidia,—a regulation which was continued (*Ibid.* 21).

of those who attacked the late Emperor. "To me," he said, "it is allowable; but as for you, you are guilty of impiety in accusing your former ruler." He then produced the papers which, at the beginning of his reign, he pretended to have destroyed, caused them

to be read aloud by his freedmen, and derived from them proof that it was the senators who had caused the death of all those punished during the late reign: some by acting as accusers, others as false witnesses, all by rendering the decree of condemnation. And he added this terrible truth: "If Tiberius committed acts of injustice, you should not during his lifetime have loaded him with honors; nor, by the gods, have blamed after his death what you yourselves sanctioned by your decrees! It is you whose conduct towards him was irrational and guilty; it is you who killed Sejanus, corrupt-



CALIGULA. BRONZE FROM HERCULANEUM.

ing him by the pride with which your sycophancy inflated him. And all this gives me cause to think that I have nothing good to expect from you." The discourse ended with the inevitable rhetorical figure taught by the schools and required by the rhetoricians. Tiberius himself appeared upon the scene: "You are right, my son, and what you say is true; let there be no friendship nor compassion for any of them; they all hate you, and if they can

they will kill you. Do not seek to please them, and care nothing for their words. Your own pleasure and safety are the sole rule of all justice. Secure these, and these men will honor you. If you act otherwise, you will seem to have obtained a profitless honor, and will surely perish, the victim of their plots. He who commands is feared and revered while he is strong, but surrounded with dangers when he is believed feeble." Lest this page of eloquence should be lost for posterity, Caius immediately had it engraved on a tablet of bronze.

The Senate believed that they had reached their last hour. Under the lash of these insulting words and threats, could they arouse themselves to some manly resolve? On the following day they reassembled. The orators were effusive in praise of the frankness of Caius, and his piety towards Tiberius, and his indulgence towards the Senate. The Conscript Fathers decreed him an ovation for having conquered his just displeasure towards them; and to celebrate for ever his magnanimity, decreed that on the anniversary of the day when this memorable harangue was read them, as well as on the festival of the Palatine, sacrifices should be offered to "His Clemency," while his golden statue should be borne to the Capitol, surrounded by choirs of boys of the noblest families singing hymns in his honor.

Men of this sort were mutually worthy of each other; the subjects were well fitted to the master; all deserve to be subjected to the eternal and inexorable law of expiation which rules history and makes its morality. The victims paid for their cowardice and their vices; the murderer will soon pay for his cruelties.

The strength of a power is not measured by its violence. Notwithstanding the shedding of so much blood, this unhappy reign had weakened the springs of government, abased the dignity of the Empire, and compromised the public peace. To make the administration more uniform, Tiberius had seized every opportunity to reduce the allied kingdoms into provinces. Caligula took no care of this kind: he made a gift of Ituraea to Soaemus; of Lesser Armenia to Cotys; of a part of Palestine to Agrippa; and gave back the Commagene to Antiochus, adding, as a compensation to the latter for the nineteen years of royalty that he had lost, a

part of Cilicia and a large sum of money. It is true that not long after he took them away from Antiochus. Artabanus had driven Mithridates out of Armenia; instead of sustaining the exiled king, Caius threw him into prison and left Armenia to the Parthians. He called to his court Ptolemy, king of Mauretania; then, irritated by the curiosity of which Ptolemy was the object, he caused him to be killed. Upon which the subjects of Ptolemy revolted, and it took a long war to subjugate them.

Tiberius was severe towards every one; he had broken to obedience the nobles as well as the soldiers, the people, and the provinces; each man was held in his place. Caius replaced this necessary discipline by the most capricious tyranny and a boundless confusion. In the theatre he liked to see nobles, beggars, and knights seated together, — a faithful picture of his own mental chaos and contradictory wishes. To-day he ordered his soldiers to charge the crowd; to-morrow he threw millions to the same populace. He distributed among them fruits and rare birds, and he allowed Rome to come to its last sack of corn, while *fêtes* and games were ready for the public daily. His soldiers received largesses for exploits that were ridiculous; but he had the intention of decimating a whole army. He flattered the praetorians and allowed them the greatest license, and surrounded himself with a Celtic legion formed of coarse and violent Germans who enjoyed all his favor. When the provinces sent deputations to him, he received them surrounded by his architects, and made them follow him through his palaces and gardens, listening to the workmen and the orators at the same time, and mingling his orders to the masons with his responses to the envoys. And so it came about that nothing was accomplished; and had it not been for a few men trained in the school of Tiberius, disturbances would have broken out at many points.²



AGRIPPA.¹

¹ Bronze of king Agrippa, with the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

² Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xix. 4. At the time of his death there was not in the city corn for over seven or eight days. The only useful things accomplished by Caius were the construction of two aqueducts at Rome and several harbors near Rhegium and in Sicily for vessels bringing corn from Egypt; and even these he did not finish (Suet., *Calig.* 21; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xix. 1; Frontin., *De Aquaed.*). He also placed the great obelisk in the circus of the Vatican (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 40; xxxvi. 9; Suet., *Claud.* 20). It is worthy of note as a trait of the

For nearly four years no man among the people, the army, or the provinces protested against these saturnalia. The whole Empire, like the Gaul at Lyons, stood stupefied and amazed before this great folly. However, when Caius returned from Gaul to Rome with threats against the senators, whom he refused to



PASSAGE BETWEEN THE PALACE OF TIBERIUS AND THE PUBLIC PALACE.¹

allow to come to meet him, and even against the people themselves, wishing that they had but a single head, so that he might destroy the nation at one blow, conspiracies began to be formed against this madman, "whom nature had brought forth to be the

manners of the time that he allowed men to come to the public spectacles unshod, — "a very ancient custom," adds Dion (lix. 7), "observed sometimes in the tribunals, often practised by Augustus in the assemblies, and abandoned by Tiberius;" on the other hand, he authorized the senators to be present at games wearing Thessalian hats as a protection against the sun (*Ibid.*).

¹ Wey's *Rome*, p. 394. It was here that Caligula was killed.

opprobrium and destruction of the human race.”¹ Two of these plots were discovered; the third succeeded. A tribune of the praetorians whom the Emperor had insulted claimed the right to strike the first blow. On the 24th of January, 41 A.D., there were celebrated, in a temporary theatre erected at the foot of the Palatine, games in honor of Augustus, at which Caligula was present. About noon he went out for a little rest; and letting his German guard go by the street, he himself took a shorter way under the palace. Chaerea, on duty that day, followed him with the other conspirators, and struck him on the head with a sword. Caligula attempted in vain to escape, but fell, pierced with thirty wounds.²

II. — ATTEMPT AT REPUBLICAN RESTORATION; CLAUDIUS (41).

WE have seen what absolute power had made of the first two successors of Augustus; how in his latter years it disturbed and corrupted the firm intellect of Tiberius, and from the very beginning perverted in Caligula a feeble and ill-balanced mind, staggering under the twofold intoxication of an unlimited authority and unbridled passions. This Empire, having in truth no institutions, thus passed, at the hazard of circumstances, from a tyrant to a madman; and if at any time it met with a good ruler, had reason to thank the gods.

At the news that an attack had been made upon Caligula, his German soldiers rushed into the palace, killing every one whom they met: three senators thus perished; then, returning to the theatre which the Emperor had just quitted when he met Chaerea, they made their way among the audience with drawn swords and threatening aspect. The Senate, the knights, and even the people were in momentary expectation of a massacre; wounded men were brought into the theatre, and the heads of those who had been

¹ Sen., *Cons. ad Pol.* 36.

² Chaerea sent to have Caesonia and her daughter, a child of two years old, killed. The Senate proposed to brand Caius with infamy. Claudius opposed this, but caused his statues to be removed during the night. He was not solemnly declared a tyrant, but his name, like that of Tiberius, was not inserted in the list of Emperors; “and,” says Dion (lx. 4), “we make mention of them neither in our oaths nor in our prayers.”

killed were heaped upon an altar. A public crier now announcing that the Emperor, instead of being slightly wounded, as had at first been reported, was actually killed, the zeal of the Germans suddenly abated, and they withdrew. The Senate, thus set at liberty, immediately assembled in the curia; and as the populace gathered outside with loud cries for vengeance, they sent out Valerius Asiaticus, who harangued the mob, openly applauding the deed. "Would to the gods," he said, "that I had struck the blow myself!"

The republicans at last found the situation perfectly suited to their wishes. It seemed to them that the experiment of a monarchical government, which many had desired, had now been tried; and as Caius left neither son nor colleague in his office of tribune, the future was not at all compromised. Nothing hindered a return to the Republic. This Chaerea asserted. His accomplices in the murder demanded the suppression of the imperial office; there was talk of abolishing the memory of the Caesars and destroying their temples; and the Senate indulged the pleasing hope of being once more supreme. They attempted to take advantage of the tumult and to turn the revolution to their own profit. A decree honored Chaerea and his friends with the title of restorers of liberty; a second decree condemned the memory of Caius, and ordered the citizens to withdraw into their houses and the soldiers into their barracks, promising to the former a reduction of the taxes, and to the latter largesses. Chaerea had made sure of the soldiers of four cohorts;¹ and in the evening he did what had not been done before for nearly a century,—he asked the watchword of the consuls, who gave him the word "Liberty."

As in the Ides of March, the conspirators had made no plan for the moment following the murder, and they wasted time in words. But where could power lie, since arms and the toga were no longer united? The Senate was incapable of taking a firm resolve; and over against that decrepitude there now arose a firm, daring, and decided power,—the praetorians, who had a fortress just outside the gates, who had arms and military discipline, and an evident interest in not allowing the state to return to the days

¹ Josephus does not say whether praetorian or urban.

when all things were transacted in the senate-house and the Forum, and nothing in the army. While the Senate deliberated and decreed, they acted. Claudius, the long-despised brother of Ger-



CLAUDIUS.¹

manicus, had been with his nephew a short time before the attack; terrified at the tumult and cries of death, he had hidden himself in a dark corner. A soldier discovered him and pointed him out to his comrades. He begged for his life. "You shall be our emperor," was the reply, and as he trembled so that he could not walk, they carried him in their arms to the camp. The Senate sent a deputation to reproach Claudius with this usurpation of the supreme power, and commanded him to await their decision, at the same time inviting him to come and de-

liberate with them. The senators talked resolutely; but they soon perceived that the four cohorts of Chærea, the slaves whom the nobles threatened to arm, together with the consular authority and the decrees of the Senate, were all the feeblest of obstacles in the way of these veterans. As a last resort, they fell on their knees before Claudius and conjured him to avoid civil war, adding in a lower tone that if he desired the Empire he should at least ask it of the Senate. Claudius at first replied in guarded language;

¹ Statue, with uncertain and embarrassed air, found at Gabii (Museum of the Louvre, Clarac, *Descr. des Ant.*, etc., No. 142).



CLAUDIUS. (STATUE FOUND AT HERCULANEUM. — MUSEUM OF NAPLES.)

then, guided by the advice of the Jewish king Agrippa and by the urgency of the officers, he gave to a second deputation only the promise of a moderate government, in which the Senate should have a large share of influence. Finally, with a decision which he had not hitherto shown, he harangued the troops, made them take the oath, distributed money among them,¹ and promised largess to their comrades of the legions, on the model of the *donativum* granted to his soldiers by a victorious general when he received the triumph. It was the price of the Empire which Claudius paid. The soldiers later instituted this custom as a law, and finally it made of the Empire a domain sold at auction to the highest bidder.

The consuls, who would have come into possession of the supreme power had it been restored to the Senate, did not readily relinquish the hope of success. During the night they posted at suitable points, to prevent a surprise, the urban cohorts, who were always jealous of the praetorians, and consequently devoted to the Senate; and they gathered around the Capitol a great number of gladiators, marines, the soldiers of the night-watch, and a few praetorians whom Chaerea had gained over. These precautions being taken, they convoked the Senate before daylight in the temple of Jupiter. But the situation was becoming perilous; fear caused the timid to hesitate: scarcely a hundred senators responded to the consuls' appeal. The latter appeared determined to run all risks. In answer to a pacific message from Claudius, they exclaimed that they would never willingly return into servitude: this was practically a declaration of war. Claudius sent word to them by Agrippa that since they were desirous to fight, they had better select a battlefield outside the city, to the end

¹ Fifteen thousand sesterces, — about seven hundred dollars apiece (Suet., *Claud.* 10). Josephus says five thousand drachmas, or about a fourth more. Notwithstanding a slight difference in weight, the drachma was regarded as equivalent to the Roman denarius, which was always the quadruple of the sesterce. The *donativum* was a very bad custom, but of republican origin, like the distributions of corn at reduced price. On occasion of a triumph the general always gave up to his soldiers a portion of the booty. Thus Pompey gave six thousand sesterces to each soldier (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 6), and Caesar twenty thousand (Dion, xliii. 21). The republican usage was entirely legitimate, because these largesses after a victory were made at the expense of the vanquished, and distributed solely among the victors; but the imperial was not so, for the *donativum*, drawn from the public treasury and granted to all the soldiers without distinction, was not the recompense of a service rendered to the state.

that Rome at least and the temples should not be stained with the blood of citizens. This confidence on the part of the new Emperor, and the desertions which multiplied from moment to moment among their defenders, had begun to shake the confidence of the most resolute, when suddenly a great tumult was heard outside the senate-house,—the soldiers on whom the republican party had counted, were demanding an emperor, only leaving to the Senate the choice of the worthiest. Immediately in the assembly the partisans of the Republic were silenced, and personal ambitions broke out. Minutianus, a brother-in-law of Caligula, offered to undertake the burden of empire; Valerius Asiaticus claimed the honor of that self-sacrifice; Scribonianus and others still offered themselves. While the consuls were discussing the claims of these candidates, Chaerea harangued the soldiers, reproaching them that they had so little love for liberty. “You ask an emperor,” he said; “bring me an order from Eutrychus, and I will give you one.” This was a charioteer of the circus who had been a favorite of the late Emperor, and had had great influence with him. When the name of Claudius was shouted, he exclaimed: “After a madman do you desire an idiot? But wait; I will bring you his head.” The harangue, however, did not succeed. “Why should we fight against our friends and brothers when we have an emperor?” said one of the soldiers; and, drawing his sword, he led the way to the camp of the praetorians, and all the others followed him. The populace had already preceded them thither, also eager to beg some largess in honor of the new reign.

The senators, left alone, reproached each other for their mad temerity; and in their turn, deserting the Capitol and their republican hopes, hastened to meet the man whom they had just now proscribed. Many were wounded by the angry praetorians, and there would have been many lives lost but for the intervention of Claudius. Chaerea, however, had set a dangerous example, and the new Emperor, returning to the palace, ordered his immediate execution. He went bravely to his death. “Do you know how to kill a man?” he said to the soldier employed to take his life. “Your sword may not be sharp enough; this one, which I used for Caligula, is better;” and he insisted on being killed with the

same weapon. A few days later the *parentalia* were observed, — funeral festivals, when each man made libations in honor of his ancestors. Many citizens included Chaerea in these domestic sacrifices; they besought him to be propitious to them, and implored him to forget their cowardly submission. Some of his accomplices perished with him; one of them, Sabinus, whom Claudius wished to associate with himself in the Empire, refused to live, throwing himself upon his sword with such violence that the hilt of the weapon entered the wound.¹

Such was this abortive revolution. It exhibits what we already knew, — the ambitious hopes of certain of the nobles; the servility of the Senate; the indifference of the citizens, now become a mere populace; and, most of all, the weakness of the civil power, which could not retain the obedience of a few cohorts. It was not the army, it was not the twenty-five legions, who had sold the Empire and conquered the Senate without drawing the sword, without going out of their camp; a few thousand praetorians had been enough. How rapidly had the veil fallen which the first ruler had skilfully thrown over the imperial constitution! The fourth Emperor was merely the man elected by a few of the soldiery, to whom were united the Roman mob. The twenty-seven years since the death of Augustus had been enough to secure that preponderance of the army which we have shown to be inevitable as the result of the imperial institution.

We see thus what was at the base of the Empire; namely, a permanent cause of revolution. Claudius shows us what there was at its summit, — a perpetual terror. All his life he had before his mind the recollection of the assassinated Caius. He surrounded himself with guards, not only in the palace, but in the Senate, and even at banquets, where soldiers instead of servants waited on him, while other soldiers, spear in hand, kept watch around him.² No one approached him, not even a woman or child, until it had been ascertained by search that the person had not concealed

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xix. 1-4, and *Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. He tells us that "the people regarded the imperial power as a necessary restraint upon the designs of the nobles, their acts of violence, new civil wars, and all the evils from which Rome had hitherto suffered."

² Dion, lx. 3. This order remained from the time of Claudius the etiquette of the imperial court. The habit of searching those who were to appear in the presence of the Emperor ceased under Vespasian (Suet., *Claud.* 35).

weapons; and the Emperor would not enter the apartments of his friends until all the corners had been searched, and even the mattresses of the beds examined. But precautions were useless in such a case; Claudius did indeed secure himself against sword and dagger, but he perished by poison. He fears and watches all the world, and it is his wife who kills him!

Claudius was fifty years of age at the time of his accession.



MESSALINA.²

Almost always ill during his childhood, he had been left in the charge of women and freedmen in the house of Livia his grandmother and Antonia his mother, who treated with severity the poor child whom they dared not show to the people or to the soldiers.¹ Everybody at last forgot him, and at the age of forty-six he was not even senator. There had been found only one office to give him, that of augur; and this man, incapable of understanding the present, was intrusted with the task

of foretelling the future. He consoled himself by literary labor, writing several books, some of them in Greek,—a history of the Carthaginians, and another of the Etruscans; two books whose loss

¹ He belonged not even by adoption to the Julian family, which by aid of that legal fiction had until then perpetuated itself in power. He was grandson of Antony and Octavia through Antonia his mother, and of Livia through Drusus his father, the brother of Tiberius. Augustus alone seems to have been friendly towards him, as appears in fragments of the Emperor's letters (Suet., *Claud.* 4).

² *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,297.

history deplores.¹ He even made an attempt to introduce into the Latin language three new letters, and Quintilian considered this a needful reform.² This patient study devoted to foreign peoples dissipated from his mind more than one Roman prejudice, and gave him intelligence enough frequently to see clearly into public affairs,³ but not enough decision to govern even his own household. As his nature was incapable of recovering from the effects of ill-treatment, he remained throughout his reign what he had been in his youth when he trembled before Livia and Antonia, — without manners or dignity, because he was without character; irresolute, because he had taken up the habit of obedience, so that with good intentions he allowed himself to do almost as much evil as an ill-disposed ruler. The tyrants of Rome may be characterized by their kind of cruelty: that of Tiberius was cold and intentional; that of Caligula was savage; that of Claudius was timid and stupid. This Emperor was the first to give the Romans the strange spectacle of a government of the seraglio, in which women and slaves are all-powerful. He was ruled by his wife, Messalina, whose name has remained a synonym for profligacy, and by the servants who had grown old in his house.

III. — THE FREEDMEN; REFORMS AND PUBLIC WORKS.

IN the early days of Rome the constitution and society were alike hostile to the class of freedmen, because all was done publicly and by the citizens. The case was very different under the Empire, the ruler needing confidential agents whose lives were intimately associated with his own. The freedmen have an extremely bad reputation, and they deserve it for their spirit of adulation and servility. But in the first place, this was the spirit of all

¹ He founded at Alexandria a new museum [college], where every year his two histories were to be read aloud (Suet., *Claud.* 42), — a puerile vanity, but at the same time an effort to oblige the Alexandrian Greeks to take an interest in something besides themselves, and to study the people of the West. This Claudian college, whose existence the Emperor doubtless secured by an endowment, was still in existence in the time of Athenæus, in the third century.

² Suet., *Claud.* 41, 42; cf. Tac., *Ann.* xi. 13; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xix. 2; Quin., *Inst. or.* xii. 10.

³ Οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ δεινῶς ἐπραττεν (Dion, lx. 3).

men after the battle of Actium, of the greatest as well as the least, so that it was not a new element in Roman society; and, secondly, the class of freedmen necessarily furnished distinguished individuals, for it was formed—as I have already said, and must again repeat, on account of the prejudice existing to the contrary—by a sort of natural selection made amidst the immense multitude of men fallen into servitude. Among those born slaves there were many who had some right to believe themselves the sons or brothers of their masters; and, besides this, we know that the most intelligent were carefully instructed and retained in the household as scribes, grammarians, preceptors, artists, physicians, or confidential agents to manage their masters' fortune. How many Turkish slaves, for the same reasons, have become pachas or viziers?

The freedmen of Julius Caesar took no part in public matters; those of Augustus were kept in the shade. But it is a necessity for absolute governments to make use of men of low degree. The kings of France were accustomed to bestow the great civil offices of the state upon new men only, and Louis XIV. systematically excluded the high aristocracy from public life. For similar reasons, the Roman Emperors acted in like manner when the reality concealed by Augustus was laid bare by his successors, and the state became the household of the ruler. The only minister of Tiberius was a knight; under Claudius, his servants ruled: four freedmen,—Callistus, who pretended to have saved his master from poison under Caius; Polybius, his reader; Narcissus, his secretary; and Pallas, his man of business. The latter maintained that he was a descendant of the kings of Arcadia,—a genealogy which the Senate accepted, where a Scipio extolled the self-sacrifice of the noble freedman who, for the sake of public utility, allowed himself to be counted among the servants of the Emperor. These men were rapacious, but they were also devoted and faithful. "Narcissus," says Tacitus, "would have given his life for his master."¹ Claudius, who had just now seen the Senate proclaim a republic, could not associate it with himself in the government as Augustus

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xii. 53 and 65; Dion, lx. 34. For their power over Claudius, etc., cf. Tac., *Ann.* xii. 3; xiii. 4; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 53; Suet., *Claud.* 28; Juvenal, i. 108; and *The Caesars* of Julian.

had done, nor could he take for counsellors those nobles who so recently were disputing for the supreme power, and would so often conspire against himself. Freedmen were "safer;" and he gave himself up to them completely, "and was," says Suetonius, "their servant rather than their master," "having," adds Tacitus, "neither affections nor hatreds other than as they were commanded to him by these men."¹

Contrary to the habit of parvenus, the freedmen of Claudius showed themselves favorable to those of their own condition, and placed them in all offices. Until the reign of Hadrian, the freedmen were the real administrators of the government, filling all positions in government offices, and many foreign posts beside.² Moreover, to those who look elsewhere than at Rome, this government of the *libertini* lacked neither activity nor even honor.

Claudius began his reign wisely. After having caused the Senate to give him most of the titles that his predecessors had enjoyed, he proclaimed a general amnesty. He knew that Galba in Gaul had been eager to obtain the imperial power, and he now placed the latter among his best friends; we have seen that he attempted to save the life of Sabinus. He annulled all the laws of Caius, but caused the observance of the laws of Augustus. He abolished the new taxes, recalled exiles, restored property which had been unjustly confiscated, and gave back to the cities the statues that Caius had taken away from them. He prohibited prosecutions for treason, and gave back to their masters or else caused to fight in the arena those slaves who had served as informers. Of an easy disposition and averse to display, to which he had never been used, he readily fell into those simple ways of living which had promoted the popularity of Augustus; but he lost the advantage of them by strange inconsistencies. Thus, he went to visit his sick friends, but accompanied by a numerous and noisy escort; he rose up before the magistrates, and paid court to the

¹ Suet., *Claud.*, 29; Tac., *Ann.* xii. 3: . . . *nisi indita et jussa*.

² See Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der röm. Verwalt.* In the provinces all the officials connected with the government were slaves or freedmen of the Emperor, and they lived and died in office; so that, as is the case in the cabinets of modern governments, the governors were frequently changed, but the officials under them remained, preserving the records and the tradition, the understanding and the habit of business. See the report of L. Renier upon the excavations in the cemetery of Carthage, April 29, 1881.

consuls and the Senate as if all his hopes rested upon their favor; but the Conscript Fathers were obliged to deliberate under the surveillance of the praetorian prefect and his tribunes, admitted in arms into the curia. He loved to decide causes, and his judgments were frequently good, following equity, but contrary to the law,—to the great scandal of the jurisconsults, who saw nothing but texts and formulas. A woman refused to recognize her son, and the proofs were not clear; upon this he orders her to marry the youth,—thus forcing her to confess herself his mother in a new judgment of Solomon. His undignified manner, his shaking head, his trembling hands, his stammering and sometimes ridiculous sentences or vulgar jokes, deprived him of public consideration.



GAMES: COMBATS OF ANIMALS (PAINTING FROM POMPEII).

“I have heard old men say,” relates Suetonius, “that the lawyers abused his patience to the extent of recalling him when he was leaving his tribunal, and catching hold of him by the toga. A Greek advocate dared to say to him: ‘And you also are old and imbecile!’ A Roman knight, after having reproached him with his folly and cruelty, threw a stylus and tablets in his face, which made a deep wound on the cheek.”

To keep the granaries at Rome always full, he made regulations in the interest of the grain trade which lasted for a century after his time, and he made himself responsible for all the losses that the contractors suffered by tempests; but he allowed his wife and his freedmen to take advantage of the markets and cause

famines, so that one year it became necessary to establish a *maximum*. He sent to execution those who usurped the title of citizen; he deprived of it all those, even in the Oriental provinces, who did not speak Latin: but Messalina and Pallas sold it to any who were willing to pay a high price. Augustus had abolished the censorship; Claudius restored the office, and exercised it rather with the taste of an antiquary enamoured of old usages than with any feeling of the real needs of the Empire. He censured citizens who had absented themselves from Italy without his permission, accepting no defence made by the lawyers; he caused a silver chariot of precious workmanship to be broken while in the seller's possession; and published twenty edicts in one day, — to advise all to have their tuns well tarred, because the vintage was good; to recommend yew-tree juice as a remedy for the bite of vipers; to announce an eclipse, etc.¹

The populace, who saw themselves reflected in this timid and gossiping old man, sensual and gluttonous, a great lover of games,² of lawsuits, and of coarse jokes, cruel but not malicious, a grumbler but not ill-tempered, a moralist about trifles, very paternal and good-humored in reality,³ in spite of his facility at killing, — the populace loved him; and one day, at a rumor of his assassination, there was very nearly a riot.

The freedmen, who had not been long enough in power to be entirely demoralized by it, and who felt themselves as well as their master surrounded with perils, replied to conspiracies by executions; but they also sought to justify their influence by services to the state. There was seen what probably no man expected, — namely, in Rome, wise measures and useful labors; in the provinces, a liberal administration; in foreign affairs, a firm policy recompensed by success.

¹ This eclipse of the sun being about to take place on the Emperor's birthday, he was anxious lest it should be considered a bad omen, and he announced it to the people with all the explanations which could at that time be given. During his censorship — which office he shared with his friend Vitellius, the father of the future Emperor — he made a revision of the Senate. Instead of punishing the unworthy, he contented himself, following the example of Augustus, with obtaining their voluntary resignation (Tac., *Ann.* xi. 25).

² He remained in the theatre even while the people went home to dinner (Suet., *Claud.* 33).

³ One of his guests stealing from his dinner-table the golden cup which the guest had used, Claudius invited him to dinner on the following day, and gave him a vessel of clay to drink out of (*Ibid.*, 32; cf. 38).

The civil legislation of Claudius was remarkable; since the time of Augustus there had been made no innovations of equal importance.¹

Slaves who were disabled by illness had been hitherto, as a rule, either killed or abandoned by their masters. The more fortunate were carried to the temple of Aesculapius on the island of the Tiber; and whether they died there or recovered was the god's affair. Claudius decided that abandonment meant emancipation, and that the master who killed his slave should be considered guilty of homicide.² This law attests the movement taking place in ideas, of which Seneca is the most eminent exponent in the pagan society of his time. Slaves are not as yet really men, but they have ceased to be things which the master uses and abuses at will. At the same time it was not desired by the freedmen who surrounded the Emperor that the ties of patronage should be relaxed. A statute forbade the freedman to testify in court against his patron, and threatened the enfranchised person who should give cause to his late master to complain, with a return into slavery.

The old Roman law sacrificed the family to the *paterfamilias*; the Velleian decree defended women against their own ignorance of legal subtleties in reference to obligations,³ and the mother who had lost her children obtained by an imperial statute the right of succession in common with the other agnates, *ad solatium liberorum amissorum*. To soldiers marriage had been prohibited; but their rights as fathers of families were now recognized.⁴

According to the early laws, no son in the lifetime of his father could acquire any absolute property. This incapacity was by degrees destroyed by the theory of *peculia*, and especially of the *castrense peculium*, established by Augustus, which gave

¹ [Or so humane. Thus, the state secretary, called a *cognitionibus*, and now established, saw that the charges brought against a prisoner were properly drawn up. Cf. Mr. Cui's memoir on this officer. — ED.]

² Suet., *Claud.* 25; Dion, lx. 29. Under Tiberius an amelioration had already been made in their situation. See p. 442, note.

³ On the subject of this decree Ulpian says (*Digest*, xvi. 1, fr. 2, sec. 2) : . . . *providentia amplissimi ordinis laudata: quia opem tulit mulieribus*. . . .

⁴ . . . τὰ τῶν γεγαμηκότων δικαιώματα. See Dion, lx. 24. Dion might have added that this privilege was accorded to the soldiers *post honestam missionem*, as is said in the inscription, No. 2,652, Orelli, which belongs to the year 52 A. D., in the reign of Claudius. See also chap. xci. sec. 2.

the son whatever property he might have acquired by military service. Claudius developed this new right, and endeavored to protect the sons of living fathers against themselves and against usurers. The latter were forbidden to lend to such persons on interest. Tacitus is of opinion that this law arrested their rapacity. It is not probable that this was so; however, in prohibiting creditors from bringing an action against a son, even after the father's death, the Macedonian¹ decree deprived them of a guaranty, and thus rendered loans more infrequent, but also more onerous to the honest debtor.

Augustus had attacked the very rigorous doctrine of the ancient law in regard to legacies by giving obligatory force to codicils; and the settlements in trust thus became real testamentary dispositions. The jurisdiction in cases of trusts had hitherto been committed to the magistrates of Rome as an annual commission, but was now intrusted to them in perpetuity. Claudius also conceded it to the provincial authorities,² which was one step more in the direction of liberality.

The gains of advocates had become enormous; an unsuccessful and disappointed suitor had about this time killed himself in the house of one of them. Claudius would willingly have suppressed them altogether; but this was impossible. He however fixed the sum of ten thousand sesterces as the maximum fee in any case;³ and their demands probably became the greater in consequence, for such laws defeat themselves. Public holidays took up quite a portion of the year, and diminished the public industry. The number of them was reduced;⁴ but can we suppose that idleness was thereby diminished? These measures were, however, indices of a creditable intention.

The freedmen who ruled in the Emperor's name essayed too to maintain the distinction of ranks. A man cannot become a citizen unless speaking Latin fluently, though he be one of the most important in his province; he cannot become a knight if his father was a freedman, nor a senator unless his ancestors for at least three generations have been citizens. The quaestorship — that is to say, entrance to the public career — is permitted only

¹ *Digest*, xiv. 6, 1.

² *Tac.*, *Ann.* xi. 5, 7.

³ *Suet.*, *Claud.* 23.

⁴ *Dion.* lx. 17.

to such as have fortune enough to give the people a gladiatorial combat. A free woman who had an intrigue with a slave fell into servitude.¹ The public order was carefully protected in Rome. The Jews again disturbed the city,² and men exiled from the provinces came in crowds; both classes of persons were expelled from Rome.

The aristocracy, deprived of office in Rome, held in the army the highest positions; and these Claudius allowed them to retain. A military regulation determined the promotion of the knights, who began by the command of a cohort, then obtained a troop of cavalry, and lastly arrived at the legionary tribuneship. It was not desired, however, that the army should remember its noble chiefs for too long a time, and it was forbidden to soldiers to hold the place of clients towards a senator, or to go to salute one in his house. A similar spirit of distrust was manifested by the Emperor when he took possession of the right which had hitherto belonged to the Senate, of granting permission to senators to travel outside Italy, and when he forbade the erection in Rome without special authorization of the statue of any person whatever. And even the populace saw itself deprived of its last liberties, — its royalty in the theatre; severe edicts punished those who had insulted there an ex-consul and some noble matrons.³

In public offices Claudius made but few changes. The right hitherto exercised by the praetors of naming the guardians of wards passed into the hands of the consuls, and the procurators of the Emperor obtained the privilege of having their decisions considered equivalent to the Emperor's own.⁴ The first of these measures

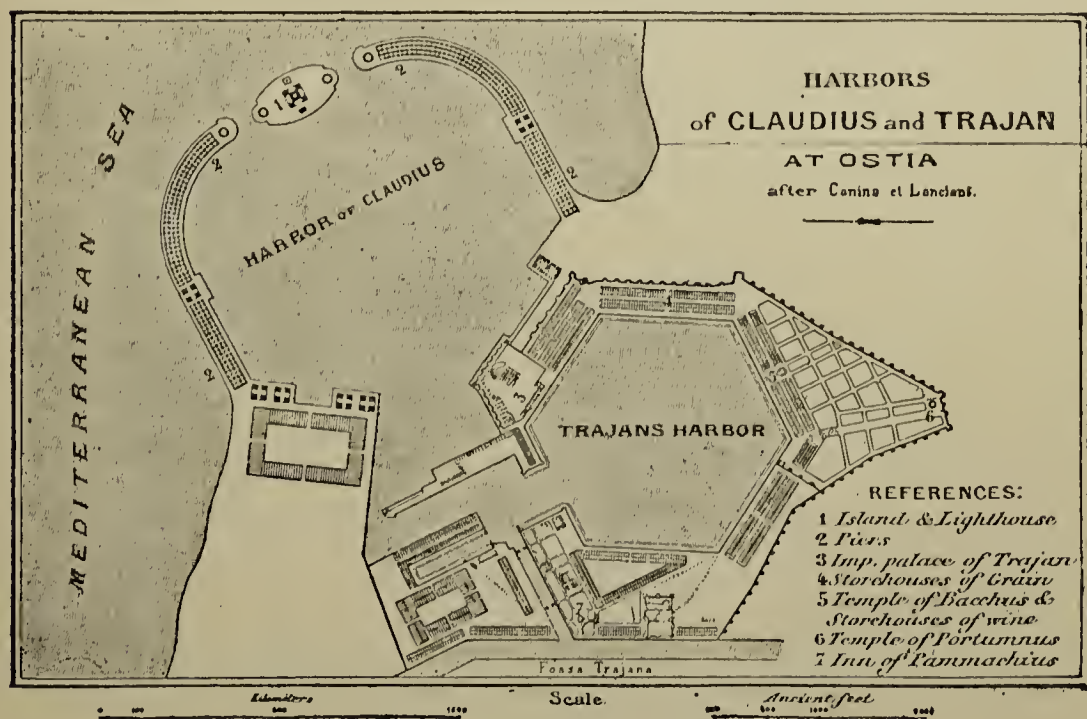
¹ It was Pallas who proposed this law; the Senate thanked him for it by giving him the insignia of the praetorship and fifteen million sesterces. He refused the money; already possessing, according to Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 53), three hundred million sesterces, or about fifteen million dollars.

² Suet., *Claud.* 25: . . . *impulsore Chresto*. This name, which in Greek signifies "useful, good," was common at Rome among the slaves; it is to be found in many early inscriptions. It has been conjectured that the Chrestus of Suetonius was a Greek converted to Judaism. According to Dion (lx. 6), the Jews being too numerous at Rome to be driven out without causing disturbances, Claudius contented himself with prohibiting their assemblies; but if Suetonius be of doubtful veracity in the matter of these anecdotes, the secretary of Hadrian is no less so when he refers to legislative acts. The *Acts of the Apostles* (xviii. 2) attest the edict of expulsion.

³ Tac., *Ann.* xi. 13.

⁴ Tac. *Ann.* xii. 60. He even gave the consular insignia *procuratoribus ducentariis* (Suet., *Claud.* 24).

seemed a good one, because it was impossible to look too high for an impartial protector of widows and orphans;¹ the second was bad, since it gave to financial agents an importance of which they made a bad use, and in making the public treasury at once judge and party in its suits, renewed the disadvantages of the old tribunals presided over by the knights. Three ex-praetors were employed to collect what was due to the state, and certain administrators of the public funds being accused of malversation, Claudius did not punish them at all, but examined their accounts, broke the contracts they had made, and watched their successors more closely.²

HARBOR OF CLAUDIUS AT OSTIA.³

Claudius undertook great public works, says his biographer; but he cared less for the number of them than for their utility. He completed an aqueduct which had been begun by Caligula, bringing from a distance of forty miles the water of many springs, and distributed it in the higher parts of the city.⁴ He also constructed a

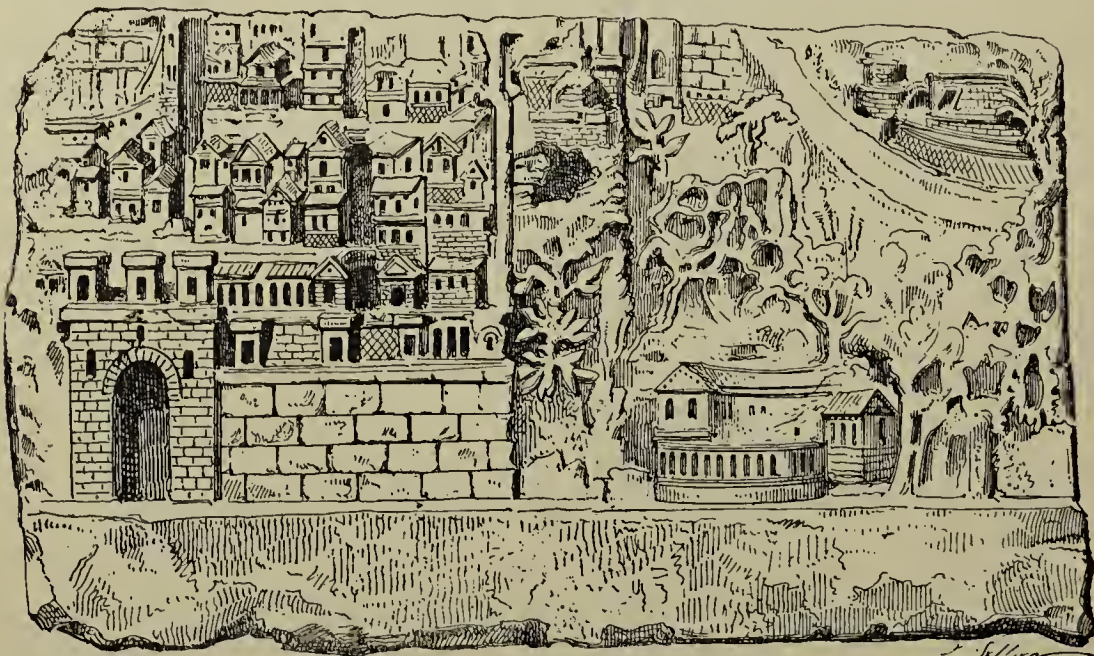
¹ Marcus Aurelius returned to the original system, changing it for the better. See chap. lxxxii.

² Καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὖθις πολλάκις ἐποίησεν (Dion, ix. 1). He took from the quaestors their Italian prefectures, abolishing the office, but restored to them the management of the public funds.

³ Restoration; *Monum. del corresp. arch.*, 1868, pl. 4.

⁴ Cf. Tac., *Ann.* xi. 13, and especially Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 24: "All previous aque-

harbor at Ostia, — a work which Caesar had not had time to execute, — building two piers with a mole in front of them, on which was erected a tower like the lighthouse of Alexandria, as a guide for vessels by night.¹ This work was of the highest importance for Rome, since without it the provisioning of the city in the matter of grain would have been very ill secured. The corn of Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa arrived very readily in Rome, the voyage being short and made in the summer. It was otherwise with the Alexandrian vessels, which did not sail until September; in the most favorable circumstances they required ten or twelve days to reach



BAS-RELIEF FOUND IN LAKE FUCINUS, REPRESENTING THE BUILDINGS ON ITS BANKS.²

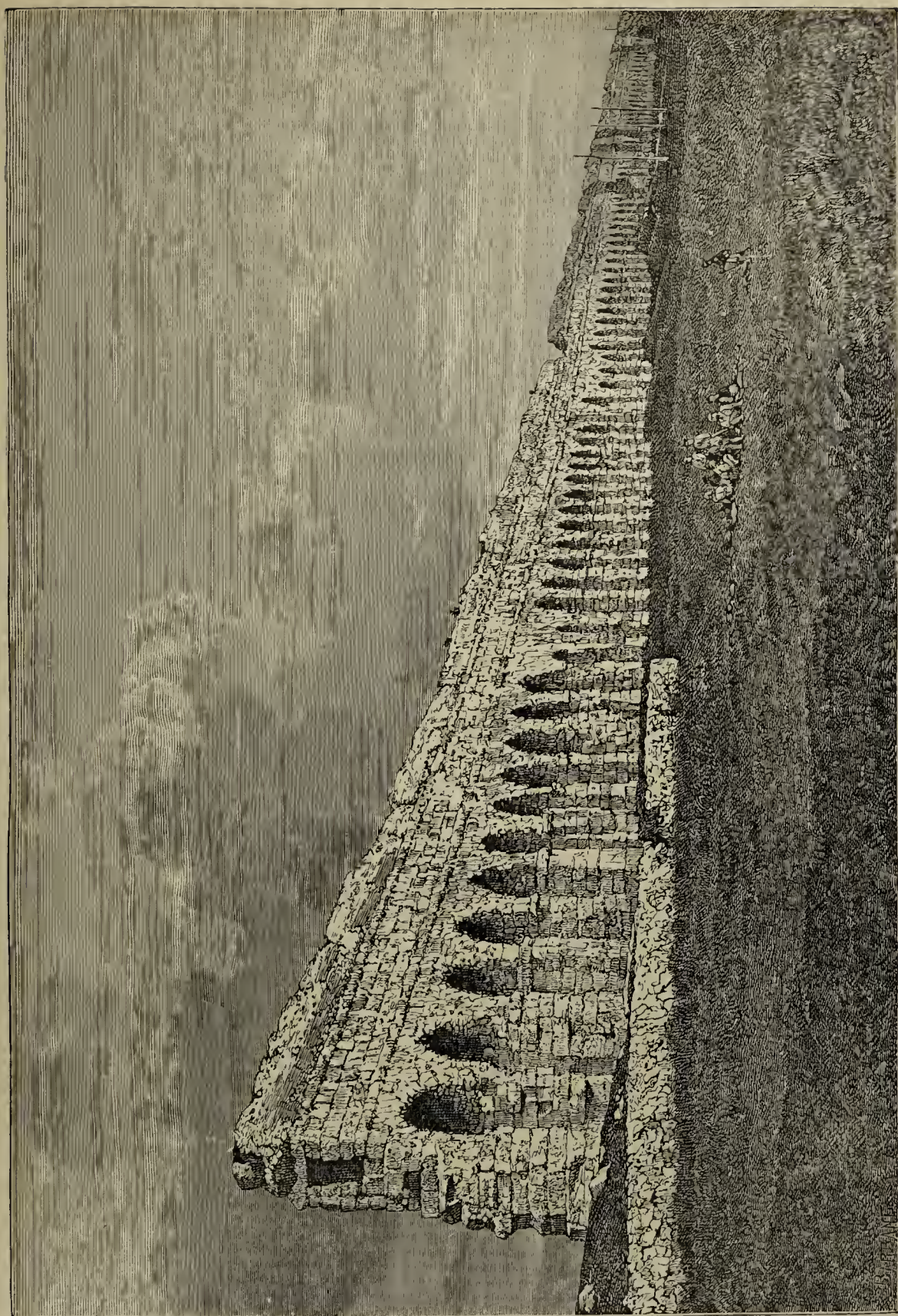
the mouth of the Tiber, and at that time of year the Mediterranean storms begin.³ Places of refuge had, therefore, been prepared in the Straits of Messina for vessels disabled by tempests. When from Sorrento or Capri were recognized by their peculiar sails the messenger ships (*tabellarias*) which announced the approach of the Egyptian vessels, all Campania came down to Naples and

duets," says the latter author, "must yield to that of Claudius. Its cost was fifty-five million five hundred thousand sesterces. It is one of the wonders of the world."

¹ Ἐνεθυμήθη πρᾶγμα καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης ἄξιον (Dion, lx. 11).

² *Revue arch.* 1878.

³ See Vol. III. p. 470. Egyptian corn could not be brought down the Nile till after the inundation, which begins at the end of June or in the first days of July, attaining its mean height in the middle of the latter month, and its maximum in the last ten days of September.



AQUEDUCT OF CLAUDIUS IN THE CAMPAGNA.

Puteoli to salute the merchant fleet as it entered that incomparable bay, protected by the great Island of Ischia.¹ There it was in safety; but from Puteoli to Rome there was a voyage to make of about a hundred and twenty-five miles along an open coast, which was very dangerous in stormy weather, and at the end of the voyage only the muddy mouth of the Tiber. Claudius resolved to transform this bad anchorage into a large, safe harbor. The engineers of that time declared it impossible; but the Emperor persisted, and a basin of a hundred and seventy acres was excavated. At the same time he encouraged the shipowners, by holding himself responsible for losses at sea and granting privileges to those who should equip vessels for the transport of grain, — to citizens, the benefit of the laws in respect to *bona caduca*; to matrons, the rights bestowed upon mothers of four children; to Latins, the citizenship, when they had for six years brought corn to Rome in a vessel carrying at least ten thousand modii.² The harbor was excavated, and Rome had nothing more to fear from famine; unfortunately the Tiber carries away so much of its banks that its delta gains on an average thirteen feet annually, and the harbor of Claudius is now a mile and a half from the sea.

¹ . . . *Gratus illarum Campaniae aspectus est* (Sen., *Epist.* 77).

² See, on next page, a bas-relief discovered in 1863 in the ruins of the portico surrounding the *emporium* of the harbor of Ostia. In the upper left-hand corner is the *Annona*, having on her head the figure of a lighthouse and bearing a cornucopia and a crown; next, the eagle; then, the lighthouse itself, the Genius of the Roman people, and a quadriga of elephants, an emperor seated in the chariot, either Claudius, Nero, or Trajan; while in the right-hand corner Bacchus holds a vase which pours out gladness. Three nymphs on the pedestal of Bacchus are emptying an amphora in token that here the *vinariae naves* should unload. Between the two vessels stands Neptune calming the waves. The ship on the right hand, already moored, is reefing its sails and discharging its cargo; upon the sail is represented the eye which during the voyage has kept off evil influences. On board the vessel on the left, which is entering the harbor, the master is offering the sacrifice of prosperous return; on the stern and the topmast are winged figures holding crowns. On the sail are represented the she-wolf and the twins, — announcing, without doubt, the nationality of the vessel, — and the letters VL, which indicate either the owner or the port from which she sails. Cicero says that carrying vessels were of about two thousand amphorae (*Fam.* xii. 15), and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 22), that their capacity went as high as three thousand. The amphora was equal to nearly six gallons, weighing fifty-five pounds; the vessels of which Cicero and Pliny speak contained 12,000 or 18,000 gallons; that is fifty-five or eighty-two tons, which is the capacity of vessels now engaged in the carrying trade in wines on the Italian coast. (Cf. N. Guglielmotti, *Delle due navi romane*, 1866.) For corn the vessels were larger. Those of ten thousand modii, to which Claudius granted a privilege, averaged ninety-five tons, and the advantage of making them still larger soon became apparent. Lucian (*The Ship*, 5) speaks of an Egyptian vessel bringing corn into Italy which was 180 feet long (120 cubits), 46 feet wide, and the same in height.

It was thought also needful to improve the navigation of the Tiber, which could be done either by deepening its bed or increasing the volume of its waters. This idea led to the reconsideration of a project presented to Augustus; namely, the draining of Lake Fucinus. This lake, which covered a surface of thirty-nine thousand five hundred and twenty acres, but whose greatest depth did not exceed sixty-five feet, had no natural outlet; hence rains and the melting of snows caused sudden freshets and disastrous inundations, during which the waters more than once rose nearly



LAKE FUCINUS, AFTER THE COMPLETION OF THE ENGINEERING WORKS.¹

fifty feet. The Marsi had long begged to have this work executed, which would have given fertile lands to agriculture. It was now undertaken by Claudius. Constrained to abandon the original design of opening a communication with the Tiber, he decided to throw the waters of the lake into the Liris. For eleven years

¹ Works of the Claudian channel (*Revue archéol.* 1878, pl. xiii. A). Land-slips prevented this channel from working successfully, and Nero abandoned the work *successoris odio* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 24). A French company in 1855 went on with the work of Claudius, giving the tunnel a section of 215 square feet. The Claudian canal, opened in 1869, and completed in 1874 by Prince Torlonia, has poured more than a thousand million of cubic yards into the Liris, has given to agriculture the surface occupied by the former lake, 39,520 acres, and has rendered healthful a whole region hitherto ravaged by swamp-fevers. See, upon these works and those of Claudius, an interesting paper by M. Geffroy in the *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences morales*, July, 1878.



BAS-RELIEF OF OSTIA (COLL. TORLONIA). SEE EXPLANATION, PRECEDING PAGE, NOTE.

thirty thousand men worked incessantly, cutting through the hard rock and shifting beds of clay an underground channel over eighteen thousand feet in length, with a section averaging from eighty-six to ninety-six square feet, into which the laborers had access by thirty-two shafts, varying in depth from sixty-five to four hundred and twenty-five feet; the same number of small slanting tunnels served for the removal of the excavated material. As this colossal work approached completion, nineteen thousand men in twenty-four triremes gave a representation of a naval battle upon the lake. For fear this army, condemned to perish for the amusement of the people, might make some desperate attempt, another, formed of the praetorians and the cavalry of the Emperor's guard, lined the edge of the lake on rafts covered by a rampart, whereupon were reared *catapultae* and *balistae*. The combatants defiled before Claudius, crying out as they passed him, like the gladiators in the arena, *Morituri te salutamus!* "We, about to die, salute thee!" Claudius, delighted to see them so ready to bear their share in the entertainment, and not willing himself to remain behind-hand with them, responded: "I also salute you!" But at this they throw down their arms and refuse to fight; the Emperor had pronounced their pardon. And Claudius was seen in his robes running along the edge of the lake, threatening some, persuading others, and finally deciding them to murder one another. What a state of society, what an age, when nineteen thousand criminals could easily be brought together at one time, in one place, to die as a public amusement! Evidently we cannot judge these men with the rigor of our modern ideas as to the sacredness of human life.

IV. — PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION AND WARS.

THE provincial administration was vigilant, as in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, but with more liberal views. Officials guilty of extortion were punished on complaint of the provincials; among others Cadius Rufus,¹ who was accused by the Bithynians. Claudius often repeated in the Senate that a good administration

¹ He was condemned in the year 49 (Tac., *Ann.* xii. 22).

of any public office was a service to himself personally. "Do not thank me," he would say to those whom he had appointed, "it is not a favor that I do you; we are sharers in the burden of empire, and I shall be indebted to you if you fill your office well."¹

Augustus had sought to establish in the midst of the subject nations a Roman minority, on which the government might rest, — a minority strong enough to make order everywhere respected; and he strove by his laws to render it worthy of its mission. But with this system the government of the provinces was carried on only in the interest of a pacified Rome. The effort was useless, for it aimed at nothing less than to arrest the world's movement. Augustus had given the parting advice to be miserly of the citizenship; but in the short space of thirty-four years the number of citizens had increased by 2,000,000. At the census of the year 14 A.D. there were but 4,937,000 out of more than 21,000,000 souls. When Claudius closed the lustrum in the year 48 he announced 5,984,072 citizens; or, according to other statements, 6,944,000, representing a population of 30,000,000, — an average annual increase of 260,000, or more than 1 per cent a year. Even in establishing from time to time some colony, and in making here and there a few citizens, the Emperors yielded to a necessity which they did not comprehend; and no one possessed that great art of making a force so easily produced and disciplined an element of progress and conservation. This secret of the greatness of Rome had been divined by Claudius. In the open Senate, in the face of the nobles who were so prompt to forget that their *laticlave* hid many an Italian and many a foreigner, he called to mind, with a rare historic intelligence, how Rome had been formed; he showed that the same law of continuous extension and progressive assimilation which had made the fortune of the Republic must be the salvation of the Empire. This question



COIN OF CADIUS
RUFUS.²

¹ Dion, lx. 11.

² Γ. ΚΑΔΙΟΣ ΡΟΥΦΟΣ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΣ (*Cadius Rufus proconsul*). Two-story edifice, on the base of which is the word ΝΕΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ. Bronze coin struck at Nicaea (*Cabinet de France*). The temple of Jupiter at Pergamos, of which so magnificent remains have lately been found, has also two stories.

was agitated in the year 48, in consequence of a petition of the notables of Transalpine Gaul, who, being already citizens, solicited the *jus honorum*, or the right of being eligible to Roman dignities.¹ Many senators opposed this; Claudius supported it ardently, and the right of entrance to the Senate was at first conceded to the Aeduans. It was destined soon to extend to citizens of other allied peoples in Gaul and Spain.² The aristocracy never forgave the Emperor; and after his death expressed by the mouth of Seneca their hatred of the provincials' friend. "By Hercules," says the Fate, "I desired to add a few days to his life, so that he might make citizens, the few who remained to be made; for he was possessed with the idea of seeing everybody in the toga, Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards, and even Britons. But since a few for-

CLAUDIUS, WEARING A WREATH.³

eigners should be kept for seed, let it be as thou commandest." Elsewhere Seneca reproaches Claudius with being only "a citizen of the town of Plancus, born at Lyons, sixteen miles from Vienna, a true Gaul; and, as became a Gaul, he took Rome," — took the rights and honors of Rome, that is to say, and gave them to the Transalpine nations.

¹ As a fortune of twelve hundred thousand sesterces was requisite for a senator, only the rich could solicit the *jus honorum*.

² Vienna, he said . . . *longo jam tempore senatores huic curiae confert*. See Tac., *Ann.* xi. 23–25, and the fragments of the discourse of Claudius found at Lyons in 1528. [A comparison of this original document — which is now printed as an appendix to every good edition of the *Annals* — with the far more elegant composition put into the Emperor's mouth by Tacitus, shows us how far the speeches in classical histories are to be trusted. — ED.]

³ Bust of the Vatican, *Museo Pio-Cl.* No. 551.

In respect to the other provinces we have no definite information; without taking Seneca's spiteful exaggerations literally, one may, however, affirm that the same policy, but in a somewhat different degree, was followed everywhere. In accordance with what the historian Josephus relates to us, Claudius was no less favorable to the Jews than to his own compatriots on the banks of the Rhone. The former, less ambitious, did not covet the honor of the *laticlave*; but, spread abroad as they already were throughout all the Oriental provinces, they obtained for themselves in these countries, notwithstanding their turbulence at Rome, the free exercise of their customs and religion, and even an exemption from military duty. "It is right," the Emperor wrote to them, "that each man live in the religion of his own country." But when they proposed to employ upon the fortifications of Jerusalem the gold sent from all parts of the Empire as offerings to the temple, Claudius put a stop to the work, which made too evident the eternal hope of this indestructible race.¹

The gods of Greece being akin to the Capitoline divinities, Claudius proposed to reconstruct in Sicily the temple of Venus Erycina, and he strove to introduce at Rome the Eleusinian mysteries.² At the same time he caused a decree of the Senate to be issued charging the pontiffs to restore to honor "the ancient wisdom of Italy," the science of the *haruspices*. This return to the most ancient customs of Hellas and Latium betrays the fact that the old worship was menaced by foreign superstitions, and that the Government sought to satisfy religious desires without going outside Graeco-Roman traditions. One provincial body of clergy was suppressed; but this was done for political reasons rather than from any religious motive. The Druids continued their secret hostility to Rome, disturbing the

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xi. 15; Josephus, *Ant. Jul.* xx. 1, and xix. 7.

² The priests whose duty it was to minister at the altar of Eleusis were selected at the age of twelve or fourteen by lot from among the Eupatrids, and the youthful ministrant thus designated remained in charge of the sacred altar (*ἐστία*). Every year, at the period of the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, a new person was initiated into the priestly office, which, it is needless to say, was regarded as a most sacred one, for inscriptions show that he was ranked in the very highest class of the Eleusinian priesthood. (Cf. *Gazette archéol.* 1875, pp. 13 to 19, and pl. 3.)



P. SELLIER, PINXIT

MYSTERIES OF ELEUSIS—INITIATION

From a Vase

Emperor, who was much occupied with Romanizing Gaul. He took up the policy of Tiberius, and rigorously prosecuted those who would not yield. In 43 a knight of Narbonensis was put to death because at the tribunal where he was party in a suit there was found upon him the Druidic talisman of the serpent's egg.¹ But while Druidism was thus proscribed at Rome, Mithras,² the Persian sun-god, made his way into the city, and a little later the Christian faith came also.

From this struggle arose another. Since Rome had made deadly war upon Druidism in Gaul, it became necessary for her to undertake its destruction in Britain also. With the skilful system of toleration inaugurated by Augustus, it was not necessary to make the conquest of the British Islands. But the Druids, now subjected to an inexorable persecution, crossed the straits in crowds, and from the other shore sent back continual encouragement and stimulus to their former disciples. The island became a hotbed of intrigues, which, for the tranquillity of Gaul, it was necessary to destroy. A fugitive explained, moreover, that this enterprise would be rendered easy by domestic quarrels among the Britons, and Claudius resolved to undertake it (43 A. D.). The legions of Lower Germany, alarmed at the idea of a war which had a bad name since Caesar's time, refused to go. Narcissus came from Rome to harangue them; but no sooner did the freedman show himself, than the indignant soldiers began to cry out: "These are saturnalia, then, where slaves are the masters!" Upon which, seizing their standards, they followed their general and broke up the assembly.³ Plautius separated his forces into three divisions for the purpose of landing more easily. The coast was not even defended. The Britons believed that they had only to harass the invaders and waste time, and the latter would be forced to retire; but Gaul, now submissive, and not in arms against the Romans, as in Caesar's time, aided in the conquest instead of rendering it impossible. Plautius patiently followed the Britons across their marshes and into the depths

¹ Suet., Claud. 25, and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxix, 13 : . . . *interemptum non ab aliud sciam*. This man, wearing a talisman in court, fell under the prohibition of the decree of Tiberius.

² Orelli-Henzen, No. 5,844.

³ Dion, ix. 19.

of their forests, dispersed their bands, drove them as far as the Severn, and gained, on the bank of that river, a victory after a two days' battle. He then marched towards the Thames, behind which river the islanders had gathered all their forces under the command of Caractacus, a powerful and renowned leader.



CLAUDIUS WITH A WREATH AND WEARING ARMOR.¹

All the southern part of the island was subdued. It was the first time since the reign of Augustus that the god Terminus had really advanced. Plautius reserved for his Emperor the honor of completing the conquest. Under pretext of difficulties which rendered his presence necessary, the general besought Claudius to come over into Britain. The Emperor did so, and crossed the Thames with his legions, who defeated the British chief and took

his capital, Camulodunum (Colchester). The islanders had not the strength to resist a Roman Emperor; they sued for peace, allowed themselves to be disarmed, and at the end of sixteen days Claudius returned into Gaul with the surname of Britannicus.²

Plautius, remaining in Britain, organized a new province there.³ But the Roman power had not yet crossed that barrier which the Welsh mountains always successfully opposed to invasions;⁴ and the successor of Plautius, Ostorius Scapula, found himself in 50 A.D. obliged to contend against a general rising of the tribes of the West. The Druids of the Island of Mona (Anglesey) rallied around the standard of independence, both political and religious, all the tribes dwelling west of the mountain ridge which traverses England from north to south. The hero of the



COIN OF CLAUDIUS.⁵

¹ *Cabinet de France* (cameo).

² Dion, ix. 20, 21. According to Suetonius, Claudius had no occasion to fight.

³ Between the Avon and the Severn. Claudius decreed an ovation to Plautius, went to meet him outside the walls, and accompanied him, walking at his left (Suet., *Claud.* 24).

⁴ There have never been any Roman inscriptions found in Wales.

⁵ With the legend, DE BRITANNIS (bronze).

former war and bravest of the British chiefs, Caractacus, who had preferred exile to pardon, again held the supreme command. At the same moment the Iceni, on the south of the Humber, took up arms, and the Brigantes, a powerful tribe occupying a region farther to the North from one coast of Britain to the other, were preparing for an outbreak. The Roman province had enemies on every side; but fortunately there was no concerted action in this triple attack, and the Iceni, driven by the auxiliary cohorts alone from a camp they had believed impregnable, and the Brigantes, subdued by mingled gentleness and severity, returned to peace. A colony of veterans, to keep watch upon the Northern tribes, was established at Camulodunum, not very far away from Gaul, so that succor could easily come to them; and Ostorius was at last able to go in search of the Western tribes in the precipitous mountains of the Ordovici (the centre of Wales). Caractacus harassed the enemy for some time but on both sides a general action was desired. The Romans accepted the battlefield chosen by the Britons, a stretch of ground sloping downwards from high hills, its approaches defended by a river with steep banks. While the fighting was at long range the islanders had the advantage; but when the legionaries, under their *testudo*, came close, the sword and javelins made great gaps in the ranks of the Britons, who had neither helmet nor cuirass: they fell in crowds. Their chief, unfortunately for himself, was able to flee. He took refuge with Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, who gave him up to the Romans. This British Vercingetorix being taken to Rome with his wife and daughter and his brothers, entered the city in the midst of a great festival, where the spoils taken from him were displayed; he asked for life, but without cowardice, and — a new thing at Rome — the request was granted him.¹ Later, when he had seen all the splendor of the city, he expressed his surprise at Roman ambition. "What!" he said, "you have such magnificent palaces, and you envy us our poor cabins!" (51 A. D.)

While Rome rejoiced over victories gained in Britain, the Silures continued a war of ambushes and surprises which cost

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xii. 31.

the lives of many Roman soldiers. On one occasion they surrounded a corps left in their country to construct fortresses, and would have destroyed it had not Ostorius arrived with the entire Roman force. Another time they captured two auxiliary cohorts, and distributed the spoils and the prisoners among their neighbors, who at once murdered all the captains on the Druidic altars still standing in the Island of Mona; and again a whole legion was defeated. But A. Didius, the successor of Ostorius, who had died in Britain, restored tranquillity to the province. He was not able to extend its limits, but contented himself, for the protection of the conquests of his predecessors in the southeast of the island, with throwing out a few fortified posts.¹

The fame of these victories, gained at the extremities of the world, and over tribes whom Caesar had not been able to subjugate, whom Augustus and Tiberius had not ventured to attack, resounded throughout the Empire. There has been lately found in Asia a monument erected by Cyzicus to Claudius, the conqueror of Britain.²

The legions had crossed the ocean; they also crossed the Rhine. As early as the first year of the reign of Claudius the Catti, the Marsi, and the Chauci had been conquered, and the last of the eagles of Varus recovered; so that to this reign belongs the glory of having plucked from the Barbarians, after fifty years, their last trophy. For all that, the memory of the great defeat still commanded prudence in this direction.³ Britain was only an island, whose further shores the Roman eagles had seen; Germany was the beginning of a world of Barbarians of which no man knew the limits. It was said at Rome that to gain a province there was only to take a drop out of the ocean; that it was better to stop at the natural limit made by the Rhine, and thence to endeavor to break up the German confederations, to divide the tribes, to bring the chiefs into the interest of Rome. This policy of Augustus and Tiberius was also that of Claudius; and its success was manifest when the

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xii. 39-40, and *Agric.* 14.

² *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions*, 1876 and 1877 (note by M. Mowat).

³ Dion, lx. 670; Suet., *Claud.* 24.

Cherusci asked Rome to give them as their king a nephew of Arminius, born at Rome, and all his life a resident of the city, bearing even the significant name of Italicus (47 A. D.). Low as this nation had fallen since its defeat, it soon became unwilling to obey an agent of the Emperor. Italicus was expelled; but the Langobardi, doubtless gained by Roman gold, restored him, and the proscribed patriots of the Cherusci went to make common cause with the Chauci and Catti, the only German nations who still dared to look a Roman in the face. The former harassed at intervals the troops of Upper Germany; the latter, led by a Roman deserter, ravaged the Gallic coasts from their flotillas, while the inhabitants, enervated by peace and prosperity, submitted to their incursions, quite unable to defend themselves against the German marauders.¹ But a great general had appeared in Lower Germany, Corbulo, who by his severity recalled the old days of the Roman Republic. He found the legions enervated by long idleness; a rigorous discipline and incessant labor made them once more resemble the ancient legions. He was soon known by the neighboring tribes; and the Frisii, who had been free for nineteen years, consented without resistance to receive laws and magistrates from him, and to observe the limits which he prescribed for them. A fort was built to keep them under control. Corbulo also proposed to reach the Chauci, in the rear of the Frisii; and his vessels would have put a stop to the piracies of the former, as his soldiers were already threatening their frontiers, when an order from the Emperor arrested him. Returning across the Rhine with the Roman eagles which he had hoped to lead to conquest, he allowed himself only to say, "Fortunate were the Roman generals of the past!" This much-admired expression was, however, only the ambitious cry of a republican who regretted the time when generals despised the powerless displeasure of a feeble government, and at their own will plunged Rome into new wars (47 A. D.). To keep his soldiers employed, however, Corbulo caused them to dig a canal, eleven miles in length, between the Rhine and the Meuse, to prevent the inundation of the country by the high tides. Claudius recompensed him for this with the

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xi. 16-17. *Dites et imbelles* (*ibid.* 18).

insignia of the triumph. His successor, Curtius Rufus, obtained the same honor for having opened in the territory of the Matiaci a silver mine, of which the ore was of little value and its productiveness but of brief duration; Mattium was more than a hundred and twenty miles distant from the Rhine. It is evident that this system of armed peace had placed under Roman influ-

ence the territory lying beyond the Rhine to a considerable distance from the river.

Still another inference may be drawn from these facts,—if the Imperial Government was reluctant to have the legions acquire military fame, it offered them another kind of renown, the credit of great works of public utility. We see Corbulo digging a canal, Rufus opening a mine, and the army of Upper Germany continuing the immense intrenchments of the *agri decumates*. Soon after this, Paulinus finished the highway commenced by Drusus along the Rhine, and Vetus opened navigable communication between the Saône and



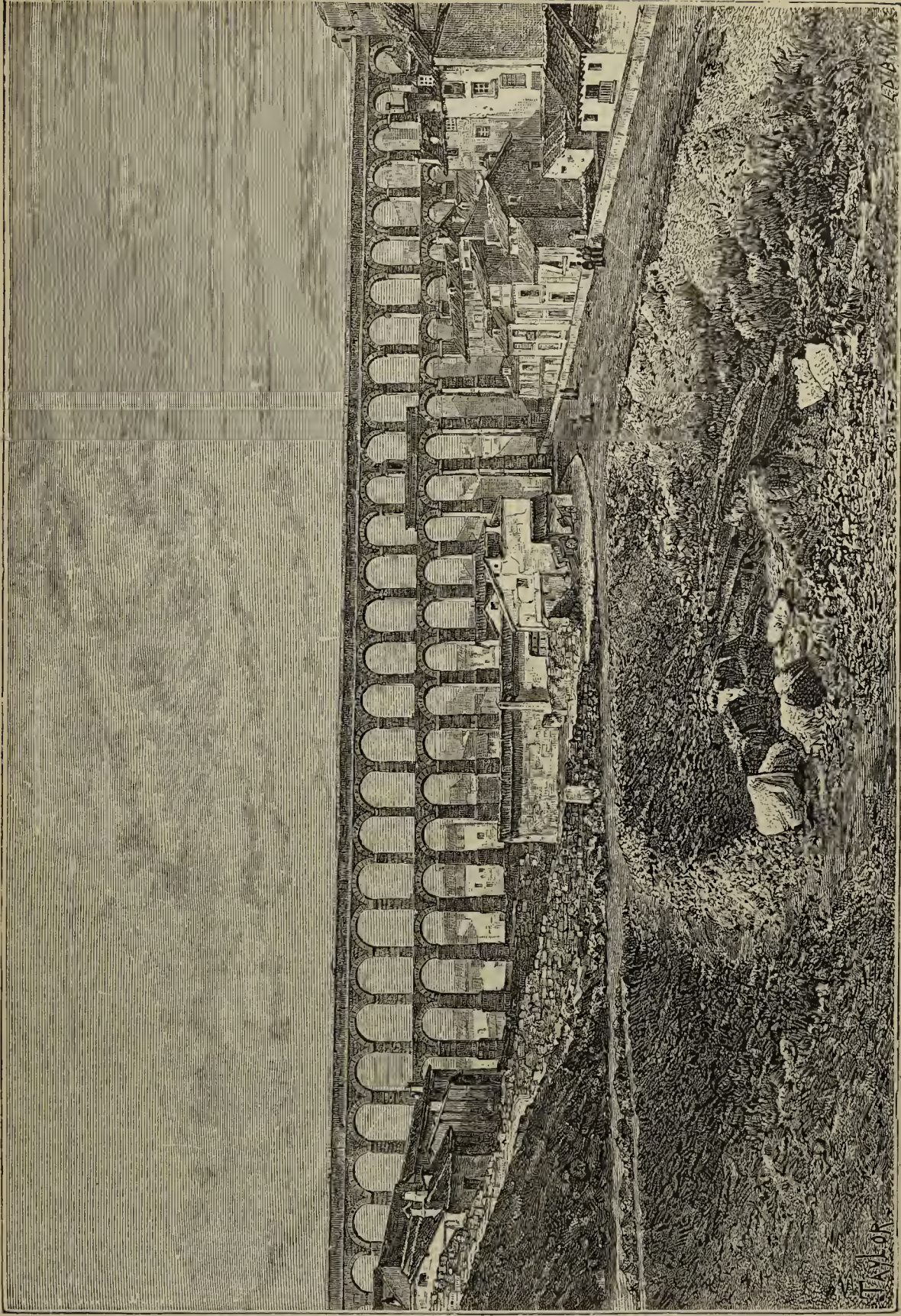
CORBULO.¹

the Moselle; that is to say, between the Rhone and the Rhine, between the Mediterranean and the German Ocean. In Spain and the Danubian provinces there is building of bridges and aqueducts and roads by the Roman legions; in Asia Minor there is opening or improving of harbors.² Everywhere the leisure secured them by a wise policy is usefully employed.³ Tacitus should have compre-

¹ *Icon. rom.* pl. 9.

² *Soranus . . . Asiæ proconsul . . . portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumperat.* In the year 65 (*Tac., Ann.* xvi. 23.)

³ *Plures per provincias similia* (*Tac., Ann.* xi. 20). Probably in Syria, for example, where Tacitus extols the efforts of Cassius to re-establish the ancient discipline: *revocare priscum morem, exercitare legiones*, etc. (*Ibid.* xii. 12).



ROMAN AQUEDUCT AT SEGOVIA.

hended these grand fruits of peace too well to have made favorable mention in his grave History of the anonymous letters wherein the Emperor was implored, in the name of the armies, to grant in advance to their generals the honors of the triumph, so that the latter might no longer seek to obtain them by subjecting their troops to such severe labors.

Tacitus also sees only a gratification of vanity to the Empress in the sending of a colony of veterans to the Ubii, whose city, Agrippina's birthplace, from that time took the name of Colonia Agrippina (50 A. D.); but the Empire had need of a strong Roman position on the Lower Rhine, and the site was so well chosen that to this day Cologne has remained one of the great cities of Germany. The Romans themselves, during the war of Civilis, not long after, had cause to recognize the wisdom of this measure.

In Upper Germany the Emperor contented himself with again repulsing the Catti, without attempting to subjugate them. The honor of this expedition belongs entirely to the Gallic cohorts of the Nemetes and Vangiones, who surprised the enemy and delivered a few soldiers of the army of Varus, captives among the Catti for forty years. Pomponius, camping with his legions near the Taunus, awaited the Catti there, in the hope that they would pursue his cohorts to the camp. But the fear of being attacked in the rear by the Cherusci, now faithful to the Romans, stopped them; and none came but deputies and hostages soliciting peace (50 A. D.). The Frisii being reduced to a partial servitude, the Chauci held in subjection, the Cherusci disabled, and the Catti humiliated,¹ Claudius had the right to issue a triumphal coin with the legend *de Germanis*.

In the South, the king given by Drusus thirty years before to the Suevi of Moravia, Vannius, threatened by a revolt, had implored the succor of the legions. Claudius left the Barbarians to settle their quarrel among themselves; but the troops gathered on the other side of the Danube, and stood ready to compel both parties to respect the territory of the Empire. This policy was successful;



TRIUMPHAL
COIN OF CLAU-
DIUS.²

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xii. 27-28 and 29-30 : *Egregia adversus nos fide*.

² With the legend DE GERMANIS (silver).

the dispossessed king was received with his followers into Pannonia, and the two victorious chiefs who divided his kingdom themselves solicited the Emperor's friendship (50 A. D.)

The tranquillity of the regions on the right bank of the Danube is attested by the very silence of the historians; an event of some importance, however, occurred in the extreme east of these provinces. Rhoemetaces, whom Caligula had made sole king of the whole of Thrace, having been killed by his wife, his former subjects revolted, and Claudius, taking advantage of the opportunity, reduced the kingdom to a province (about 46 A. D.); twenty years later, Agrippa said to the Jews: "Two thousand Roman soldiers

are enough to guard Thrace."¹ Byzantium had furnished assistance on this occasion, and again in the war made upon the king of the Bosphorus (49 A. D.); in recompense for which services she obtained an exemption from tribute for five years.²



SAUROMATES,
KING OF PONTUS
AND THE
BOSPHORUS.

This king of the Bosphorus, a descendant of the great Mithridates, and bearing his name, owed the crown to Claudius.³ The Emperor shortly after his accession had made a new distribution of the subject kingdoms. He restored to Antiochus, Commagene, which Caligula had first given him and then taken from him; set at liberty the Iberian Mithridates, whom Caligula had thrown into prison; augmented the territory of the Jew Agrippa, and erected Chalcidice into a kingdom for Herod, the brother of Agrippa; and he had ceded to Polemon some districts of Cilicia in exchange for the Bosphorus, transferred to another Mithridates. This new king, who was ambitious and turbulent like his renowned ancestor, seeking to increase his own power at the expense of his neighbors, was deposed by Claudius, who gave the throne to his brother Cotys. Mithridates made an attempt



MITHRIDATES,
KING OF THE
BOSPHORUS
(BRONZE).

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 28.

² Tac., *Ann.* xii. 63. The same favor was granted to Apamea, ruined by an earthquake; Rhodes was again free, and Bologna, destroyed by fire, received a gratuity of ten million sesterces (*Ibid.* xii. 58). Cos, in honor of its god Aesculapius, was enfranchised from all tribute (*Ibid.* 61; cf. Dion, lx. 24).

³ Cf. Casy, *Hist. des rois du Bosphore*. Among the Alps, Claudius augmented the little territory of Cottius, and gave the title of king to this mountain chief (Dion, lx. 24).

to involve in his cause other nations in this region, persuading some and attacking others, and finally drew upon them a Roman expedition. The wretched towns of the allies of Mithridates were easily taken, and were treated with great severity. One of them offered ten thousand slaves to redeem itself; but slaves and masters alike were slain. Mithridates delivered himself up; and when he appeared before the Emperor he said to him haughtily: "No man has brought me hither; I came of my own will. If you doubt it, let me go, and see whether you can find me"¹ (49 A. D.).

Claudius had given his liberty to the Iberian Mithridates in order that he might regain possession of Armenia. The dissensions among the Parthians rendered this enterprise facile. This unfortunate people had fallen back, after the death of Artabanus III. (44 A. D.), into their habitual



GOTARZES (ARSACES XX.). (SILVER COIN.)

anarchy. Vardanes and his brother Gotarzes disputed for the crown, by turns defeated and victorious. For the third time they were about to make war upon each other in Bactriana, at the extremity of the empire, when suddenly Mithridates entered Armenia with Roman troops, who took the cities, while the Iberians ravaged the open country. Vardanes remaining finally sole master of the empire, reduced Seleucia, which the Parthians had held in a state of siege for seven years, and made his preparations to invade Armenia. The governor of Syria, Marsus, threatened Var-



MEHERBATES, SON OF VONONES.

danes that if the latter crossed the frontier he himself would cross the Euphrates. New catastrophes prevented this war. Vardanes was killed by some of the Parthian nobles during a hunting party, and Gotarzes returned; but the nobility despatched a secret messenger to Claudius to ask from him as

king Meherbates, son of that Vonones who was the candidate presented by Augustus and Tiberius to the Parthian throne. The Emperor hastened to grant this petition, calling the Senate's notice to the fact that, like Augustus, he had had the glory of reconquering Armenia and giving a king to the Parthians.² But instead of pushing the enterprise with energy, Meherbates preferred to enjoy

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xii. 21.

² Tac., *Ann.* xii. 8-10.

his fragile royalty; the zeal of his partisans abated; he was conquered and taken prisoner (49 A.D.). Gotarzes cut off his ears, and after this humiliation suffered him to live. Gotarzes himself died almost immediately after this, and the sceptre passed to his son Vonones, who lived but a few months (50 or 51 A.D.). The not inglorious reign of Vologeses, his successor, lasted thirty years.

Claudius was premature in boasting that he had equalled in the East the fortune of Augustus. His *protégé* in Parthia was a disgraced fugitive; his candidate on the Armenian throne, still more unfortunate, was overthrown by a nephew, Rhadamistus, whom he had loaded with benefits, and who now murdered him with his wife and children,—causing them to be smothered, not to violate the oath he had taken to his uncle that he would neither by sword nor poison attempt the latter's life. Habituated as men



VOLOGESSES I.
(ARSACES XXIII.).

were in the East to crimes in royal houses, this perfidy excited indignation. Vologeses thought it a favorable occasion to recover Armenia for his brother Tiridates. All the cities opened their gates to him, but winter and a contagious disorder drove him away. Rhadamistus, returning from Iberia, put to death with unsparing hand those whom he called rebels. They revolted against him, besieged his palace, and the king

owed his safety only to his horse's speed. His wife, Zenobia, some months advanced in pregnancy, accompanied him. Not to retard her husband's flight, she bade him kill her; he struck her with his sword, and she was thrown into the Araxes for dead. The blow, however, was not mortal; some shepherds rescued her, and she was taken to Tiridates, who treated her as a queen. The Roman influence in Armenia was lost until Corbulo, at the beginning of the reign of Nero, restored it.

In Lycia some Romans had been killed, and this small state was in great disorder; Claudius deprived it of a liberty which it had misused, and the country was united to Pamphylia.¹ Elsewhere we shall take up the affairs of Palestine, only saying now that at the death of Agrippa, in 44 A.D., Claudius, who considered

¹ Dion, lx. 17.

this king's son too young to succeed him, had again united Judaea to the province of Syria.

To conclude the story of the few events in provincial history during this reign which have come down to us, we will refer to



CLAUDIUS.¹

the successes of Suetonius Paulinus in Mauretania at the beginning of the reign of Claudius. This general crossed the Atlas, the peaks of which he found covered with snow, and penetrated through a

¹ Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 12.

scorching country to Tafiilet.¹ His successor, Geta, narrowly escaped perishing from thirst with his entire army. The unexpected discovery of a spring saved them, and a decisive victory over the Mauri gave him an opportunity to make of the country two provinces, separated by the Mulucha, — Mauretania Tingitana and Mauretania Caesariensis, into which numerous colonies carried the language and manners of Rome.² These conquests gave Claudius the honor which Sylla and Augustus obtained, of extending the *pomoerium*.

To this or the subsequent reign belong the bold explorations spoken of by the geographer Ptolemy, which were pushed by Julius Maternus into the interior of Africa as far as the country of Agysimba, "the land of the rhinoceros," and by Septimius Flaccus into the land of the Ethiopians, three months march beyond the Garama. Pliny relates (vi. 24) that a freedman of the farmer of the imperial customs on the Red Sea, having doubled Arabia, was driven by gales as far as the Island of Taprobane (Ceylon), where he remained six months, learning the language of the country; and on his return brought with him four ambassadors, who gave to Claudius curious information concerning their island, its inhabitants, and their commerce with the Seres (Chinese).

This reign was not lacking, therefore, in military and political renown: Mauretania and half of Britain conquered; the Germans held in check, humiliated, and deprived of the last trophies of their former victories; the kingdom of the Bosphorus retained in subjection; Thrace and Judaea reduced to provinces,³ and the dissensions among the Parthians for a long time kept up; at home, certain wise laws, useful works, and an increasing prosperity;⁴ in the armies, discipline and an activity employed in promoting the public welfare, under the command of officers who had grown

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 1. Cf. Walkenaer, *Recherch. géogr. sur l'intérieur de l'Afrique sept.*, p. 370.

² Dion, lx. 9. They were governed by procurators (Tac., *Hist.* i. 11).

³ Ituraea was also, like Judaea, united to Syria after the death of its king, Sohemus, 49 A. D. (Tac., *Ann.* xii. 23).

⁴ In the year 49 there was, however, a great famine in Greece, corn being sold at six drachinas the bushel, perhaps even at twelve; and the following year there was a riot in Rome on account of the price of corn. Claudius was pursued by outeries and threats in the streets, but took prompt measures to bring back abundance (Euseb., *Chron. ad Ann.*; Suet., *Claud.* 18; Tac., *Ann.* xii. 43).

old in their positions;¹ lastly, remote embassies renewing the curious spectacle which under Augustus had so flattered Roman vanity. Surely in these facts, these results, there was enough to satisfy the pride of a ruler more exacting in that regard than Claudius ever was. We must now, however, direct our attention again to Rome, there to witness the death agony of the Roman aristocracy, and to see what an example is offered to the world by the imperial household. The lessons taught in the palace penetrate far and wide; Messalina had rivals among the Roman matrons, and Locusta did not exert her skill for Agrippina only.

V. — MESSALINA.

VICE and the public executioner had so reduced the Roman nobility that Claudius was obliged to make new patricians in the same year (48) that he admitted the provincial aristocracy to the Senate. The one replaced the other; the world's notables instead of the city's filled the Senate, — a sure token that provincial Emperors would soon appear. The *gentes* created by Cæsar and Augustus were already extinct,² and but few were left of the fifty "Trojan houses" enumerated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus under the first Emperor. Claudius himself had aided in reducing this number. During his reign perished thirty-five senators and more than three hundred knights, — many, victims to the shameful passions or the avidity of Messalina; some carried off by the suicide which men without beliefs and without useful employment of life³ esteem the last resource of an existence worn out by pleasure and by fear;

¹ The appointments made by Claudius are praised by Tacitus. See, on Cassius, *Ann.* xii. 12, and on Corbulo, xi. 20. We may also mention Ostorius, *ducem haud spernendum* (*ibid.* 39); Suetonius Paulinus, the conqueror of Britain and of Mauretania, under whom Vespasian made his first campaigns; Burrus, the prætorian prefect; Galba, who commanded successfully in Aquitania, Germany, and Mauretania: *Africam moderate . . . Hispaniam pari justitia continuit* (*Hist.* i. 49); Vinus, *qui Galliam Narbonensem severe integreque rexit* (*ibid.* 48). Vitellius even merits this eulogy from Suetonius: *in provincia (Africa) singularem innocentiam præstitit biennio continuato* (*Vitell.* 5).

² Tac., *Ann.* xi. 25.

³ We have already seen with what readiness men took their own lives in the reign of Tiberius. Dion (ix. 11) relates that Claudius compelled the knights to come to the senate-house whenever they were summoned. One day he so severely reprimanded certain who had disobeyed this order that they killed themselves.

but the larger number condemned in consequence of imprudent plots or accused of crimes. The attempt made after the death of Caius was still fresh in men's minds, and it was believed possible to repeat it; even after the time of Nero there were republicans in Rome, for the insane conduct of the new emperors revived the regret of many for that form of government which had conquered the world. More numerous yet were those who, seeing so strange a figure in the chief place, believed it easy

to dethrone a ruler of whom his own mother said that he was a mistake of nature, — a man begun, and not completed.

On one occasion an armed assassin came as far as the bed where the Emperor lay; twice his life was attempted in public, — once, at the door of a theatre, and again during a sacrifice.¹ A grandson of Pollio and a grandson of Messalā attempted a revolution,² and obtained the complicity of per-



CLAUDIUS AND MESSALINA AS TRIPTOLEMUS AND CERES (CAMEO).

sons attached to the imperial household. Pomponius began a civil war, and Scribonianus incited the army of Dalmatia, promising the soldiers to re-establish the Republic, while Vinicianus, one of the candidates for the imperial power after the murder of Caligula,

¹ Suetonius (*Claud.* 13) and Dion (lx. 15) believe in the reality of all these conspiracies. Tacitus speaks of a knight discovered with a dagger among the persons who came to salute the Emperor (*Ann.* xi. 22), and Dion (lx. 18) of another, doubtless the one whom Otho, governor of Dalmatia, denounced, and whom the consuls and tribunes threw down from the Tarpeian rock. Tacitus also speaks of the persuasions of Silius, designated consul, addressed to Messalina, that she should kill the Emperor (*ibid.* 26). This would make nine or ten plots, if the accounts are accurate.

² Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 43) says merely these words.

together with a praetor and a number of senators, prepared an insurrectionary movement at Rome. Scribonianus, being proclaimed emperor, wrote to Claudius a letter full of violent reproaches, ordering him to retire into private life, whence he ought never to have emerged. The timid Emperor would have willingly obeyed; but the respect of the legions for the family of the Caesars saved him. Alarmed by an unfavorable omen, the rebels refused to march upon Rome, and the first emperor who had risen out of the *castra stativa* was put to death after a reign of five days. His wife denounced his accomplices, and all who could not buy the favor of Messalina and the freedmen perished. In spite of the recent laws, information given by slaves against their masters was received, and senators were subjected to torture. Children were spared, but most of the wives shared their husbands' fate. One of these distinguished herself, — Arria, wife of the ex-consul Paetus. She followed her husband to Rome; and when she saw him condemned, instead of imploring Messalina, who was her friend, to spare her life, she plunged a dagger into her breast, and withdrawing the weapon, handed it to Paetus, saying: "Take it, it does not hurt."² Vinicianus and many others killed themselves. In singular contrast to the effeminacy of their lives, these degenerate Romans

MESSALINA.¹

¹ Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 13.

² Pliny, *Epist.* iii. 16.

sought in their last hour to prove themselves worthy of their heroic fathers. When Valerius Asiaticus, after a pathetic defence, had obtained from Claudius only the choice of the mode of death, he at once became calm, since he had no longer to plead for his life, bathed, and gave a great feast, at which he showed much gayety. Rising from table, before opening his veins, he went out to look at his funeral pile erected in his garden; finding it too near his trees, he caused it to be removed to another place, not to endanger

their magnificent foliage. To die well was the sole point of honor left to these Romans, and Messalina gave frequent occasion for its exhibition.

Claudius was not a man to retain the affection of his wife. He had been twice married before his accession to the Empire, — first to Paetina, whom he presently repudiated; then to Urgulanilla, by whom he had a daughter, Claudia, and from whom he was divorced on account of her disreputable life, and also from a suspicion that she designed his murder. Messalina,



MESSALINA.¹

his third wife, was great-granddaughter to the excellent Octavia, the sister of Augustus, but inherited rather the faults of Antony than the virtues of her ancestress. Her mother, Domitia Lepida, had set her an example of irregular conduct, and she had been already publicly disgraced when Claudius married her. It seems probable that she suffered from one of those maladies which overpower the conscience and lead to all forms of immorality.²

¹ Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 228. The bust of Messalina, wearing a wreath of laurel, rises above a cornucopia, from which emerges a child's head, — no doubt that of Britannicus. Rome, helmeted, is in front of the Empress. Rubens, who admired this cameo, has made a drawing of it, preserved in his work. Cf. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général*, etc., p. 38.

² She was an extremely vicious woman, but doubtless unsound in health, and was but twenty-four years of age when she died. M. Ménière, in a curious book entitled *Études médicales sur les poètes latins*, believes Messalina to have been a victim of nymphomania. "At the Salpêtrière," he says, "there are Messalinas, cases which have absolutely nothing to do with morals."

With this dissolute woman we come, for the first time in the West, upon the life of Oriental courts,—a mixture of plots, and punishments, and monstrous profligacy. The Oriental despotism which was now established on the Palatine brought with it the manners of Alexandria and Ctesiphon,—female rivalries, the influence of the freedmen, and conspiracies in the palace. From the beginning Rome surpassed the most famous scandals. Till this day history has had but one Messalina, and Juvenal still pursues the imperial courtesan with the cutting lash of his indignant verse. A few years later another empress poisoned her husband; an emperor murdered his mother, his brother, and his wife; and all follies, all vices, and all forms of cruelty were let loose upon this trembling and rotten society.

History would cease to concern itself with the debauchery of Messalina if this conspicuous scandal had not encouraged others, and if cruelty had not been mingled with her orgies. Her stepfather, Silanus, dared to disdain her advances. She accused him of a plot, and the accusation was confirmed by Narcissus, because a dream revealed it to him; and without further inquiry Silanus was put to death. The Senator Vinicius, rendering himself guilty of the same contempt towards the Empress, was poisoned at her instigation. Asiaticus died in consequence of his great wealth. He had still further embellished the gardens of Lucullus; Messalina desired to have them, and Claudius put the owner to death. Julia, the daughter of Germanicus, seemed to inspire her uncle with too strong an affection, and by her pride wounded the Empress; the latter invoked morals, talked of adultery, and Julia, sent into exile, quickly found the assassin's dagger. Seneca, wit and moralist, whose conduct, unhappily, was rarely in accordance with his writings, had the confidence of Julia, and for that crime was banished to Corsica, where he remained eight years.¹ Another Julia, also a niece of the Emperor, met the same fate. Poppaea disputed with her about the dancer Mnester, then accused her of adultery; and Julia was driven to suicide, while the player received from the Emperor himself the order to obey Messalina in all points. We should require the license of the Latin tongue

¹ One of Seneca's enemies accused him of being Julia's accomplice: . . . *domus Germanici adulterum* (Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 42).

to tell of the misconduct of the Empress and her shameful orgies both in the depths of the palace,¹ or by night in the streets of Rome.

Meanwhile the Emperor remained in ignorance of his wife's



MESSALINA AND BRITANNICUS (MUSEUM OF THE LOUVRE).²

misconduct; Justus Cato-
nius, the praetorian
prefect, showing some
indignation and threat-
ening to inform his
master, was at once
put to death. The
weak affection of Clau-
dius for the mother of
his children, Britanni-
cus and Octavia, the
connivance of the freed-
men, and the certainty
that any indiscreet reve-
lation would be punished
by death, secured im-
punity and encouraged
more audacity. Messa-
lina even essayed to
legalize crime and ren-
der prostitution legiti-
mate, that she might
add one more delight
to her profligacy, — that
of vice making a jest

of the law and scoffing at the last remains of public morality. If we are to believe the story which Tacitus tells us (but of which Josephus makes no mention),³ she formed the idea of marrying,

¹ Dion, lx. 18. In regard to these disorders, cf. Sen., *De Benef.* iii. 16: "Women count the years, not by the number of consuls, but of husbands. . . . They take a husband only to make a lover jealous. To be chaste merely proves a woman unattractive; and most repulsive must she be who contents herself with but a couple of lovers."

² Group in Pentelic marble found near Rome, outside of the gate San Lorenzo. Messalina, wearing the *stola* and the *palla*, holds in her arms the young Caesar, represented with the features of the infant Jupiter, in allusion to his lofty destinies (Clarac, *Descript.* No. 183).

³ Josephus says only that Claudius προαηγήκει Μεσσαλίαν διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν (*Ant. Jud.* xx. 8).

according to the usual forms, Silius, one of her lovers. Their union is said to have been announced in advance, recorded in authentic acts, consecrated by the prayers of augurs, by religious ceremonies, by a sacrifice and a solemn feast. Claudius, alarmed by omens menacing to Messalina's husband, is said to have himself signed the contract, in order to turn away the evils impending over him.¹

On the part of the Empress, this outrageous parody of the ordinary marriage rites was only intended to give new zest to her profligacy. Silius bore his part in it with the idea that the comedy would end in tragic fashion, — with the disappearance of the ruler as well as of the husband. As for the old man himself, timid and credulous, he doubtless assured himself with the formalistic spirit of the early days, or else he had been persuaded by the others that destiny would be satisfied with a marriage accomplished according to legal formulas and going no farther than that.² Accordingly, it is not to be doubted that he reserved to himself as compensation, after having saved the Emperor, to complete the oracle by avenging the husband and what we should call his honor, had not such a sentiment been unknown to the Romans of that time, and most of all to Claudius.

The freedmen of the imperial household, from the first rendered uneasy by this strange adventure, began to be alarmed when they saw Messalina despoil the palace in order to adorn the dwelling of Silius, and heap upon her new husband all the Emperor's treasures. Young and bold, Silius would not allow himself to be led as their imbecile patron had done, and, related as he was to the noblest families, and at the moment invested with the consulship, he was formidable. What he had just dared to do, showed his ambition; evidently he would not stop in the dangerous position he had taken; already he was urging Messalina to rid herself of Claudius. Callistus and Pallas hesitated, however,

¹ *Ad avertendum transferendumque periculum, quod imminere ipsi per quaedam ostenta portenderetur* (Suet., *Claud.* 29).

² It was probably thus that Messalina proposed to defend herself when she besought the Emperor to listen to her; and the first vestal was indignant that she had been condemned unheard, *indefensa* (Tac., *Ann.* xi. 34). In the *Apokolokyntosis*, the accusation incessantly repeated is, that Claudius condemned Messalina without giving her the opportunity to defend herself. It is noteworthy that Seneca, exiled by Messalina, and writing in the time of her rival, is not so severe against her as are Tacitus, Suetonius, Juvenal, and Dion; but Pliny, with a word (x. 83), goes farther than all of them.

to brave the wrath of the Empress; they remembered Polybus, whom she had sacrificed,¹ although he had been one of her lovers. Narcissus was more resolute; he revealed all to Claudius, who was at this time at Ostia, superintending the arrangements for provisioning the city. "Do you know," he said to the Emperor, "that you are repudiated? Silius has the people, the Senate, and the army on his side; if you delay a moment Rome will be in his power." Claudius at these words, which certain of the senators confirmed, fell into his wonted terror; he believed Silius



VINTAGE OR BACCHANALIAN SCENE.²

already proclaimed, and begged those around him to tell him whether he was still emperor. But Narcissus felt that he had staked his life, and that he must go on to the end, or perish; and he brought his master to Rome.

It was in autumn; Messalina in her palace was enacting a vintage scene. Men were treading the grapes, and the wine flowed into the casks; women, scantily clad with deerskins, like bacchantes, were dancing around them, and Messalina, with dishevelled hair, a thyrsus in her hand, accompanied by Silius

¹ Dion, lx. 31.

² Bas-relief in the Museum of Naples.

crowned with ivy, joined in the dances. One of their companions in the revel climbed a tree,—no doubt to represent some divinity hidden in the foliage. “What do you see up there?” some one cried. “I see,” he said, “a storm approaching from Ostia.”

The storm, whether it came from heaven or earth, was approaching.¹ Rumors are at first

spread abroad that Claudius is coming in great displeasure, and shortly couriers announce him. The feast is broken up, for these debauchees have made no preparations for resistance. Messalina takes refuge in the gardens of Lucullus; Silius goes to the Forum, ostensibly to attend to the duties of his office; others run hither and thither: but centurions are already on their track, and seize them in the streets or wherever they conceal themselves. After a few moments of anxiety the Empress recovered her assurance. She directed her children, Octavia and Britannicus, to go and meet their father; she implored Vibidia, the chief vestal,

to go to the pontifex maximus and beseech his clemency; she herself, followed by three persons, who alone of all the court had not abandoned her, crossed the whole width of the city on foot, mounted into one of those carts used to carry away garden refuse, and took the road to Ostia.



PONTIFEX MAXIMUS.²

¹ *Sive ceperat ea species seu forte lapsa vox in praesagium vertit* (Tac., Ann. xi. 31)

² Bronze of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,572.

If the Emperor had been alone, she would have been safe. But Narcissus, not to leave him alone for a moment, was in the chariot, and his two friends, Caecina and Vitellius, accompanied him. The latter, a servile courtier, waited until his master had spoken; and Claudius spoke in a most confusing fashion, sometimes incensed against Messalina, sometimes mollified at the remembrance of their children. And so Vitellius could say nothing but, "O crime! O penalty!" nor was Narcissus able to extract from him any other words.

Meanwhile Messalina approached, crying out that she was the mother of Octavia and Britannicus, and that the Emperor must hear her defence. Narcissus drowned her voice, reminding the Emperor of Silius and the marriage. But he was careful to urge on the charioteer; and to occupy the Emperor's eyes, he placed before him a statement of the orgies of Messalina. At the gates of Rome the children were waiting for the Emperor; but they were sent away. Vibidia, however, made her way into the Emperor's presence, and urged upon him the odiousness of giving up a wife to death without allowing her to plead her cause. Narcissus rejoined that Claudius would hear Messalina, that she should have the opportunity to vindicate herself; and he advised the vestal to return to her sacred duties.

The freedman conducted Claudius to the house of Silius, and exhibited to the Emperor the wealth of the Neros and the Drusi, now the reward of adultery. At this sight Claudius was at last aroused, and his anger broke forth; he allowed himself to be led to the camp of the praetorians, harangued them, and made them judges of the accused. Silius, on being brought before them, made no attempt to defend himself, and bade them kill him at once. Many Roman knights of illustrious lineage showed the same firmness. The prefect of the night-watch, the superintendent of games, and a senator were also put to death. A wretched actor, Mnester, involved in this tragedy, hoped for a moment to save his life, "making mention of the express command by which Claudius himself had subjected him to the will of Messalina. It was not," he said, "as in the case of the others, either interest or ambition which had made him guilty, and he would have been the first to perish had the Empire fallen into

the hands of Silius." The freedmen rejoined that after having sacrificed such illustrious victims, they could not save the life of a mere play-actor, and that, voluntary or not, the crime was equally heinous. The praetorians would not even accept the justification urged by Montanus, a young Roman knight of virtuous life but extreme beauty,—that although he had been summoned to the Empress, she had at once, capricious in her dislikes as in her fancies, driven him away.

While these executions were going on, Messalina, in the gardens of Lucullus, was making ready a petition; not without having some hope, and even with occasional bursts of anger, so much pride still remained to her in this extreme peril. If Narcissus had not hastened her death, that fate would have overtaken himself. The Emperor had returned into the palace; and, soothed by a delicious repast, which had been served earlier than usual, he was recovering from his anger. "Send word to the unhappy Messalina," he said, "to come to-morrow and justify herself." Narcissus perceived that he was lost if all was not over before night; he went out abruptly, and signified to the centurions and tribune of the guard to go and kill Messalina, a freedman, Evodus, being directed to superintend the execution.

Evodus hastened to the gardens, where Messalina lay extended on the ground, her mother Lepida beside her, the latter exhorting



MESSALINA AS HYGIEIA.¹

¹ Statue of the Vatican (Museum Chiaramonti, No. 682).

the fallen Empress to make her death honorable by herself striking the fatal blow. But this depraved soul was destitute of energy; she abandoned herself to tears and vain lamentations: when suddenly the gates were thrown violently open, and the soldiers appeared, the tribune, silent, at their head, the freedman, with all a slave's baseness, lavishing insults upon Messalina. The Empress, for the first time convinced that she must die, accepted the proffered dagger; with trembling hand she held it towards her breast and her throat, but dared not strike, and finally the tribune despatched her with a thrust of his sword. Claudius still sat at table when word was brought him that Messalina was dead, no particulars being given as to the manner in which she had perished. Claudius made no inquiry on the subject, but directly called for wine, and finished his repast composedly. On the subsequent days he manifested the same indifference; he saw, without a sign of anger or of sadness, the joy of her accusers and her children's grief. The Senate voted that the statues of Messalina should be thrown down, and they decreed to her murderer the insignia of the quaestorship.¹

We have given nearly as much space to this story of a wanton's death as to that of the great victims of the Republic; and for the reason that this contrast illustrates the two epochs: these tragedies of the seraglio are now a part of the history of the Roman people.

Claudius had sworn to the assembled praetorians "to remain single, since marriage had proved so unfortunate to him, and to allow himself to be slain by them if he should violate this oath." This, however, was not satisfactory to the freedmen, who, to remain masters in the imperial household, wished to make an empress, and at once busied themselves in arranging a fourth marriage for the Emperor. Each supported rival claimants. Narcissus recommended Pactina, the divorced wife of the Emperor; Callistus, the rich and beautiful Lollia Paulina, whom Caligula had divorced; Pallas, a daughter of Germanicus, Agrippina. The younger Agrippina, who had inherited her mother's imperious spirit and ambition, was the widow of Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had left her a son, now eleven years of age.² Although beautiful, she had nothing of

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xi. 32-38.

² Suetonius (*Nero*, 6) accuses her of having poisoned her second husband, Crispus Passienus, in order to obtain possession of his property. Nero was born December 15, 37 A. D.

the woman in her character, but everything of the selfishly ambitious man,—the long perseverance, the cold calculation, and at the fitting moment the implacable resolution: implacable and remorseless. It was her determination to be empress, and that her son should one day be emperor; to this end it was necessary to marry Claudius. He was, however, her uncle, and the law forbade marriage between persons so near of kin. A *senatus-consultum* removed this obstacle, and a knight set the example of such a union. Immediately upon her marriage, Agrippina sought



CLAUDIUS, AGRIPPINA, LIVIA, AND TIBERIUS.¹

to take the command. Claudius, who knew how to preserve peace in the Empire, could never command it around him; for though he was capable of correct ideas, he was entirely unsuited to govern men. The freedmen and the Empress disputed for the possession of the old man, and the latter obtained it.

The freedmen were greatly at a disadvantage in the struggle with her. The fear lest Octavia and Britannicus, the children of Messalina, should one day be in a position to avenge their mother by destroying those who had caused her death, chained them to the fortunes of the new Empress. Hence she immediately came

¹ Cameo on onyx of the Cabinet of Antiques at Vienna.

into possession of power and influence, which she seized with a resolute hand and knew how to preserve. The tone of the government was at once changed, says Tacitus;¹ and in Agrippina Rome had a mistress who did not handle affairs with the levity of Messalina. In public, severity and often arrogance; in the palace, no more immoralities, unless they were such as would promote authority: but, instead, an insatiable greed, concealed under the pretext of augmenting the resources of the state. Daughter, sister, and wife of imperators, she asserted herself to be called to share an Empire which her family had founded or strengthened, and she wished to receive the same honors as Claudius himself,—the Senate's homage, the thanks of ambassadors, the supplications of captives, and (a spectacle new to Rome) to be present at reviews and to preside in military attire under the standards.² The Senate had decreed her the privilege of going up to the Capitol in the litter used to carry the sacred objects, and also the honor enjoyed by Livia of having her effigy upon the coins of the Emperor. She was the first woman and the only one who aspired to found a colony with formal rites,—a colony which has lasted to this day, the city of Cologne; she was rather the Emperor's colleague than his wife.

Her first act was to break off the marriage contract of Octavia with Silanus, who, regarding this rupture as a death sentence, killed himself on the very day of the Emperor's marriage; and at once Agrippina affianced Octavia to her son Domitius (49 A.D.). To gain for him a share in the popularity at that time enjoyed by a writer noted at once for his talents and his misfortunes, she assigned to her son Seneca as a tutor, for which purpose she recalled the philosopher from exile³ and appointed him praetor. The following year (50 A.D.), Pallas, citing the examples of Augustus and Tiberius, extorted from Claudius the adoption of Domitius, although the latter was but two years older than Britannicus, the Emperor's own son. The new imperial prince took from that day the name by which he is known in history, that of Nero;

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xii. 7.

² Tac., *Ann.* xii. 37: *feminam signis Romanis praesidere: ipsa semet parti a majoribus suis imperii sociam ferebat. Nos vidimus . . . indutam paludamento.* (Pliny, xxxiii. 19; Dion, lx. 32.)

³ Tac., *Ann.* xii. 8. The marriage of Domitius and Octavia did not take place till after the former had been adopted by Claudius; then, to prevent Domitius from marrying his sister, Octavia was received by adoption into another family (Dion, lx. 33).

and he was soon surrounded with honors that indicated him as heir to the Empire. The consulship was decreed to him, to take effect upon his twentieth birthday; meanwhile he was consul-elect, *princeps juventutis*, and outside Rome he had the proconsular authority. In his name a *donativum* was presented to the soldiers, a *congiarium* to the people; and his mother, who lost no occasion of showing him in public and of presenting him as the natural successor of Claudius, caused him to celebrate magnificent games, and give, as praetor, a combat of gladiators. She further made him the advocate of the provinces. In the year 52 he harangued the Senate in Greek, for the purpose of soliciting favors for Ilium, Rhodes, and Apamea; and in Latin, to procure the sending of money to relieve Bologna.¹ Claudius, forgetful of his own son, allowed all this to be done. At the games of the circus, where Nero appeared wearing the triumphal robe, Britannicus wore only the *praetexta*;² one at a time the latter's partisans were removed; and after a word which Agrippina chose to regard as an insult to her son, his slaves and freedmen were driven away from him, and his preceptors were put to death. The two praetorian prefects, understood to be devoted to the young prince, were replaced by Burrus, a brave soldier, and as an officer devoted to the welfare of the state; who, however, in accepting this position from Agrippina, committed himself to serve the interests of her son at the expense of those of Britannicus, now isolated and, as it were, a prisoner in his father's palace.



NERO, CONSUL-ELECT
AND PRINCEPS
JUVENTUTIS
(SILVER COIN).

An act of feminine vengeance, the murder of Lollia Paulina, who had presumed to dispute with Agrippina the hand of Claudius, and the exile of Calpurnia, whose beauty the Emperor had one day praised, caused little astonishment, notwithstanding a hideous incident preserved by Dion. Agrippina had commanded Lollia's head to be brought to her; not recognizing the remains, disfigured by death, she opened the mouth to assure herself, by certain peculiarities of the teeth, that it was indeed her victim's head. An accusation set on foot against the proconsul of Africa, Statilius Taurus, under pretext of extortions, caused more excitement, and restored to the

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xii. 58.

² Suet., *Nero*, 6.

Senate an instant of courage. Statilius owned immense wealth, and this was his crime. Like so many others, he killed himself before the decision. Notwithstanding Agrippina's efforts, the Senate declared the accusation a calumny, and expelled the informer from the house.¹ Another senator had just been exiled for entering complaints against Vitellius.



BRITANNICUS AS BACCHUS.²

Meanwhile Britannicus was growing up, and there was reason to fear a revival of affection for him in the heart of the old Emperor. Some threatening language had escaped Claudius while intoxicated,² and Narcissus did not hesitate to let it be known that he considered a fresh catastrophe needed; he flattered Britannicus, and prayed the gods to hasten his maturity that he might drive away his father's enemies. Unhappily the freedman fell ill, and was obliged to go to drink the waters of Sinuessa, in hope of restoring his health. As his

vigilant fidelity no longer protected the Emperor's life, Agrippina resolved to take the opportunity to put an end to her anxieties. She addressed herself to one Locusta, a poisoner by trade, who, Tacitus says, had been long kept ready as a needful instrument

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xii. 57, and Suet., *Claud.* 43.

² Tac., *Ann.* xii. 57.

³ Statue found at Tivoli; Guattani, 1784, and Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 937, No. 2,390.

of the imperial policy.¹ Locusta was employed to prepare a favorite dish of the Emperor; but the poison being rejected, a physician, under pretext of his art, introduced into the victim's throat a feather covered with another and more deadly drug (13th October, 54 A. D.). The murder was accomplished, however, before the hour which the astrologers had fixed as most favorable for the accession of the new Emperor; the gates, therefore, of the palace were closed, and it was announced that Claudius was recovering. He was already dead when the Senate, consuls, and pontiffs were offering prayers in the temples for his recovery, and buffoons were sent for to amuse him.

In the palace there were all possible preparations to secure the Empire to Nero. Agrippina, feigning profound grief, held Britannicus in her arms, and with perfidious caresses kept him and his sisters Antonia and Octavia within her reach, until at noon the gates of the palace were suddenly thrown open, and Burrus presented Nero to the cohort of the guard. The

THE YOUNG NERO.²

troop, at a signal from the prefect, received him with acclamations. Some of the soldiers did indeed call out repeatedly for Britannicus; but the words having no echo, they followed the general movement. Nero then went out to the camp of the praetorians, harangued them, and promised them the same largess that had been given by Claudius, upon which the soldiers, as their share of the bargain, proclaimed him

¹ *Diu inter instrumenta regni habita* (Ann. xii. 66). It should be said that Josephus, who had no reason for sparing Agrippina and Nero, is much less positive: καὶ λόγος ἦν παρά τινων ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀγριππίνης φαρμάκοις ἀνῆρητο (Ant. Jud. xx. 8).

² Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 15.

Emperor. The Senate came after, confirming the soldiers' decision, and the provinces accepted it without hesitation. No man, in opposition to the imperious Empress, whom palace and Senate and army obeyed, dared mention the name of the unfortunate young prince whom his father seemed to have disinherited. Narcissus, his only defender, received an order to die. Another person,

Silanus, a descendant of the Caesars, — possibly, therefore, a rival, — was poisoned. Agrippina had herself ordered these executions, that her son should find no obstacle on the road which she herself had opened to him by the murder of the Emperor.

Claudius had been murdered; but this was no reason why he should not be apotheosized. Divine honors were decreed him.¹ In reality this decree of the Senate was only an official engagement to molest no person on account of the late reign, since it was thus declared that all the acts of the late ruler were ratified,



AGRIPPINA.²

and his name was placed on the list of Emperors. Seneca, however, avenged the public conscience by very severe strictures upon the new-made god and his colleagues in divinity.³ It is a curious

¹ He had a temple and sacrifices and priests (*sodales Augustales*). Following the example of Livia, Agrippina assumed the office of priestess of the new divinity, holding the *flaminium Claudiale* (Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 202).

² Bust of the Capitol, No. 14.

³ The *Apokolokyntosis*. The text of this satire, which is very incomplete, does not contain the metamorphosis which the title announces.

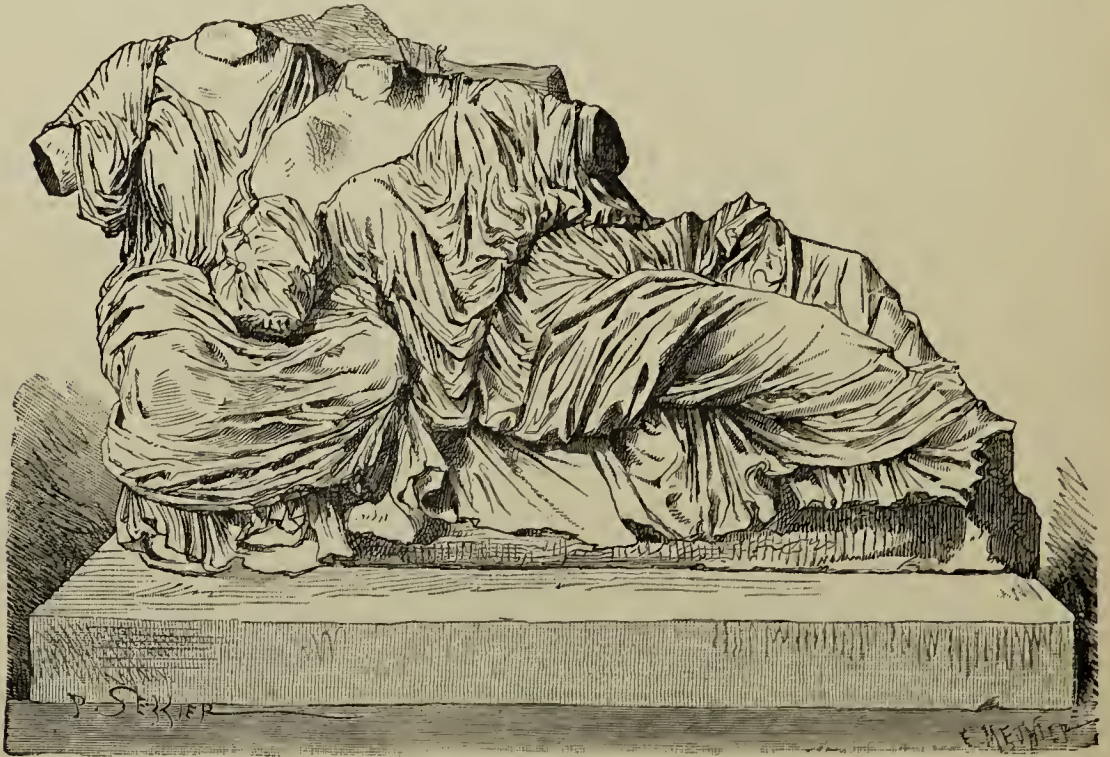
testimony to the true sentiments concealed under the hypocrisy of official religion and policy. The following is a summary of it:

“What was done in heaven the third day before the Ides of October I desire to relate to our descendants. If you are curious to know how I obtained this true history, inquire of him who saw Drusilla ascend to heaven. He is inspector of the Appian Way, by which, it is well known, the divine Augustus and Tiberius Caesar went to the gods. He will tell you that he saw Claudius following with unsteady steps the same road.

“It was in the middle of the day. Claudius began to expel his soul, without its being able to find a place of exit from that ill-made body. Mercury, who had always been amused by the droll creature, took one of the Parcae aside, and said to her: ‘How can a woman be so cruel as to see a wretch in such torments? For nearly sixty-four years he has been quarrelling with his soul, and does not yet know whether he has ever been alive. What are you waiting for to do your office?’ The Fate consented to cut this thread entangled around a worthless spindle; Claudius finally threw up his soul, and ceased,—not to live, but to appear alive.

“You have not forgotten what went on upon the earth, and how great was the public rejoicing. In heaven it was announced to Jupiter that a respectable-looking old man had just arrived, white-haired, with shaking head, lame foot, and some kind of threat on his lips. Being questioned as to his country, he replied in an inarticulate voice; he is neither Greek nor Roman. Jupiter, not very well informed about matters in this lower world, does not recognize the new-comer, and cannot even decide to what nation he belongs. To escape from this difficulty, the god summons Hercules, who, having explored all the world, ought to know all nations of men. But when the hero beheld that strange face, that crooked gait,—when he heard the voice, like that of no animal on earth,—he, who had not trembled before Juno’s monsters, was troubled, and believed some thirteenth labor was about to be laid upon him. However, looking closer, he recognized a kind of human shape, and asked him in Greek whence he came. Claudius was delighted to meet a Greek scholar and to find an occasion to spin one of his long yarns. Hercules, who did not very well understand what the other was telling him, was afraid

that the fool was about to play some trick upon him. He finally, however, was re-assured; and, being quite a good-natured divinity, he would have allowed himself to be duped, had it not been for Fever, who alone of all the Roman Gods had accompanied Claudius. 'You,' she said to Hercules, 'who have visited more countries than the most indefatigable muleteer, you know that there are Lyonnese. Well, this man belongs to the town of Plancus. He is a Gaul, a downright Gaul.' Upon this, Claudius, in a rage, ordered the execution of Fever; but to see the indiffer-

THE PARCAE.¹

ence with which all present heard the order you would have thought them his freedmen."

Meanwhile the Olympian senate assembles. The work, which is mutilated here, does not allow us to be present until near the close of the session, when Father Janus, a jovial frequenter of the Forum, begins to speak. He represents that formerly it was a great matter to become a god, but that now the honor is decreed to anybody, and has ceased to be of value; so he counsels that no more gods be made, and that the next individual who, having been apotheosized in painting or bronze on earth, arrives in

¹ From a mutilated fragment of the Parthenon (Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 824, No. 2,071 F).

Olympus be beaten with rods. But Jupiter disagrees. "It concerns our state," he says, "that Romulus be not the only one to eat boiled turnips; I vote, therefore, that the divine Claudius be allowed his divinity, and that this marvel be added to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*." Opinions were very diverse; Hercules, being gained over to the cause of Claudius, ran hither and thither as if he had been in the Roman Senate, saying to this one and that: "Do not disoblige me; I have made this my personal affair. Another time, if you want something of me, I will do it for you."

"But the divine Augustus rises and, for the first time since he has been among the gods, makes his noble voice heard. He relates the murders ordered by Claudius without allowing the accused to speak in their own defence. 'This,' he says, 'is not the way things are done here. Look at Jupiter: it is true he cast Vulcan down from heaven and broke his thigh, and that he hung his wife up by the feet one day, being angry; but he never has killed anybody, long as he has reigned. Verily if you make such gods as Claudius, you yourselves will never be recognized any more.' This opinion carries the day; Mercury seizes Claudius by the nape of the neck and drags him away to the infernal regions. As they are on the way, they meet, upon the Via Sacra, a fine funeral procession, and so extremely magnificent that it at once appears they are about to inter a god; now, at last, Claudius understands that he is dead. Narcissus hastens to meet him, and preceding him in the manner of a herald, announces Claudius Caesar. At once a crowd of victims rush towards him, striking their hands together and chanting the hymn of the priests of Apis: 'We have found him, we have found him! Rejoice!' He, astonished, inquires how it happens that all his friends, acquaintances, and relatives are met together in this place. 'It is you, assassin of your friends and kindred, who have sent us hither,' replies Pompeius, to whom Claudius gave back the surname of Magnus, but from whom he took his head. They drag Claudius into the presence of Aeacus, one of the three judges in Hades, who condemns him unheard, saying: 'Suffer thou what thou hast caused others to suffer.' Claudius regards this procedure as unjust; but he cannot regard it as new, having often applied it himself. When it is a question what shall be the penalty, some propose

that Claudius shall take the place of Tantalus; others, that of Sisyphus or Ixion. Aeacus replies that in relieving these veterans of Hades this hope would be given to Claudius, that he in turn might some day obtain a substitute; and he condemns the imbecile and avaricious old man to seek for a gain which forever escapes him,—he shall eternally throw dice into a bottomless dice-box. Already this new son of Danaus is seeking with convulsed fingers to seize the fugitive dice, when Caligula arrives and claims him as his slave, bringing witnesses who have seen him scourge his feeble-minded relative; he obtains him, and then gives him over to one of his freedmen, who compels the pettifogging Caesar eternally to drag sacks of law-papers.”

This mythological pamphlet appeared to the people, or rather to the courtiers of the new reign, to lack in point and boldness; and another conclusion was put to it, replacing the punishment of the counterfeit Emperor by a transformation into a pumpkin.

Claudius, it may be, merited this funeral oration, which mocks the masters of heaven as well as those of earth; but it was not the affair of the flatterer of Claudius to write it.¹ However, I am not certain that Horace, and Augustus himself, would not have laughed in secret at this impertinent response to the *Carmen saeculare* of the year 17 B. C. Sixty-three years back, Roman society had been much the same; but the satirical philosopher now pulled off the mask under which the first Emperor and his poet laureate had attempted to hide it.

¹ *Cons. ad Polyb.* 26, 31, 32. The *Ludus de morte Claudii*, vulgo *Apokolokyntosis*, is a Mennippean satire, a mixture of prose and verse; the anapaests are elegant and vivacious, and, strange to say, recall in their design certain hymns of the Church.



AGRIPPINA AND CLAUDIUS (SILVER COIN).

CHAPTER LXXV.

NERO (13 OCTOBER, 54 A.D.—9 JUNE, 68 A.D.).

I.—THE “QUINQUENNium NERONIS.”

WE arrive at the fifth Emperor¹ without having yet seen a natural succession or an adoption determined by reasons of state. The Caesars did indeed have recourse to adoption, even when they had a legitimate posterity; and this would have been admirable had it been a care for the public welfare which designated the individual: but the selections were usually made at random, at the will of the imperial household or of the praetorian guard. The former desired a prince whom they might lead, the latter an emperor whom they could plunder; and for this anything would do,—boy or old man, an imbecile² pedant like Claudius, or a ferocious mountebank like Nero.

The new master of the world was not yet seventeen years of age;³ he belonged to the *gens Domitia*, and the branch of that family called “brazen-beard” (Ahenobarbus). Every Roman family claimed some connection with the gods; and the legend among the Ahenobarbi was that Castor and Pollux had appeared to one of their ancestors, charging him to announce to the Senate the victory of Lake Regillus; and in proof of their divine character had, by a touch, changed his black beard to a russet color. This characteristic remained in the family; they had also another,—it was a harsh and violent race, “heads of iron,” said Crassus, “and hearts of lead.” The father of Nero had killed a freedman who

¹ The official name of Nero in inscriptions and upon coins is, *Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus*.

² The word is used in its Latin sense. Claudius was irresolute, and very feeble in character; not, however, feeble-minded.

³ He was born at Antium the 15th of December, 37 A.D. He was short-sighted, and carried an eyeglass made of a cut emerald (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 64). The cognomen of the Claudian family, *Nero*, was an old Sabine word meaning brave and hardy: *fortis et strenuus* (Suet., *Tib.* 1).

refused to drink to intoxication. Upon the Appian Way he had intentionally crushed a child under his horse's hoofs; and once, in the open Forum, had thrust out the eye of a Roman knight who had had the boldness to differ from him.

The son was worthy of the father. He was by nature a hypocrite, cowardly, malicious, and as such well prepared for the usual crimes of Roman despots; he possessed, moreover, a certain taste for poetry and art, which, in his incapacity to attain skill in either, rendered him envious of artists and poets, and finally cruel towards them. We have before us a vain and grotesque tyrant, a vile profligate, leaving to history neither a thought nor an act worthy to cover the least of his infamous deeds.

Eminent tutors, however, had not been lacking to Nero: but education is not given by words and books alone; good examples go farther than the choicest instruction. Accordingly, the lessons of Burrus and Seneca were less effectual than those taught the young man by the homicidal and licentious court which surrounded him. Nero was what the manners of the time, the violent temper which he inherited, and, above all, the absolute power he attained, made him. The purple which his three predecessors had dipped in the blood of so many victims was, like the shirt of Nessus, impregnated with deadly venom; it infected with the cruelty that made first an executioner and afterwards a victim of the rash man who dared assume it without being capable of defending himself against its subtle poison.

Nero, besides, was not the pupil of a sage; Seneca, to whom Burrus left the care of that imperial education, was not so much the Philosopher that he has been called as he was the Rhetorician, a surname that was given to his father. The latter was wont to be declamatory on trivial themes; his son was rhetorical on subjects of philosophy. He was a philosopher in the same way that Lucan was a poet and Tacitus a historian; the latter alone of the three possessing genius.

Seneca is a new example of the practical tendencies of the Roman genius. Elegant and skilful in the arrangement of words, he traverses all schools, but remains in none;¹ although that of

¹ Cf. *Epist.* 46. His writings have no value from the point of view of philosophic originality; he adds nothing to what he borrows.

Zeno seems to have had his literary preference. On the way he gathered up those moral verities which form the common stock of humanity, sure to be found in different proportions by those who look for them, underlying all systems which have endured. "It is only sand without cement," Caligula said of the writings of Seneca; but in that sand glitter specks of gold.¹ Therefore he has remained, like Cicero, one of the instructors of youth; in the time of Quintilian, who judges him with severity and yet with candor, his books were in all schools.² There is always this difference between the two philosophers, — that the style of Seneca, full of affectations and subtleties, is loaded with an ornamentation which is not the grand style, while the diction of Cicero is a model of Latin elegance. In the latter, everything is simple, and done without effort; there is intelligence, and of the best kind, and a rich moral fervor which shows the upright man and good citizen. In the former, the rhetorician's work is too manifest, coldly arranging a production in which there is more art than conviction, less mental power than talent of saying things well. At that epoch, when men trifled with everything, even with life itself, and literature was, as in our own days, a trade, Seneca remained to his last moment a consummate actor. His rôle was that of the virtuous man; his theme, moral philosophy. He has been called a spiritual director; it was his wish to be so, — always provided that he should be excused from directing his own conscience; and he carefully separated his maxims and his conduct. "In his books he condemns tyranny," says an ancient historian,³ "and he was a tyrant's tutor; courtiers, and he was never absent from court; flattery, and no man ever flattered so basely."⁴ He extolled poverty, in the midst of vast wealth;⁵ virtue, and if we may believe Dion,⁶ he was scarcely

¹ Plutarch, in a work which we have lost, but which Petrarch had read, declared that no Greek writer could be compared to him for moral precepts (Lipsius, *Proleg. in Senec.*).

² *Inst. orat.* x. 1. Fronto is still more severe.

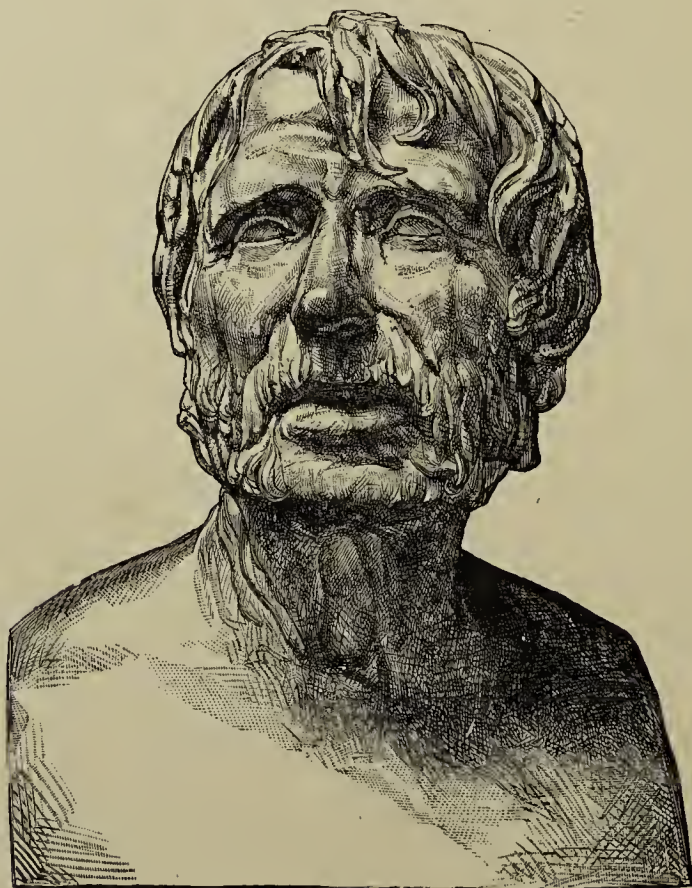
³ Dion, who is very severe to him (cf. lxi. 10; lxii. 2). He accuses Seneca of having, by the exorbitant usury he obtained upon loans, amounting in all to ten million drachmas, caused in great part the revolt in Britain. Seneca himself admits that he carried his commercial transactions as far as Egypt (*Epist.* 77; *De Vita beata*, 17).

⁴ Let the reader peruse his *Consolations to Polybius* and his *Treatise on Clemency*, written after the murder of Britannicus.

⁵ Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 42; xiv. 52; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiv. 5.

⁶ Dion, lxi. 10; Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 42.

better than his contemporaries; a simple life, in gardens rivalling the Emperor's own, and in villas filled with all the luxuries of Roman refinement. "I should like to know," said an ex-proconsul in the open Senate during the time of Seneca's greatest favor, "I should like to know by what philosophic procedure he has in four years amassed three hundred million sesterces."¹ To



BUST OF SENECA.²

finish as he had lived, he died with emphasis. In spite of his treatise concerning Providence and his eulogies upon suicide, after the manner of Cato, he held too strongly to life to anticipate Nero; but when the fatal messenger came, he made libation to Jupiter Liberator, declaimed his most brilliant maxims, and — through jealousy, perhaps — encouraged his wife, the beautiful Paulina, to die with him.

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 42.

² Museum of Naples. The authenticity of this bust has been of late disputed.

These words may seem hard; but we well know, as concerns action and the energetic and rational conduct of public affairs, what these intellectual men are worth whose cadenced periods should never have been heard save in the praetorium or from the chair of Quintilian. Elsewhere we will do justice to the writer who has best responded to the needs of these terrible days by his philosophy of death.¹ Here we are considering the man, under the assumed character of a sage, whom Agrippina employed as her son's preceptor; and we are forced to acknowledge that this egotist, who after the care of his fortune and reputation saw nothing of any greater worth than the art of discoursing well, could not be other than a poor teacher and an inadequate minister.

Seneca could not devise for his pupil any better system of education than the method at that time in use, concerning which we have the details. Rhetoric was its basis, and it took the form of a study of the poets; that is, of the abuse of harmonious words, brilliant images, ideas sometimes vague, sometimes too precise, and the perpetual employment of that mythology which made the gods descend upon earth so often that the mind had no cause to look upward to the skies. Suetonius even accuses Seneca of concealing from the young prince the ancient orators, whose virile words ruled cities, that he might protect his own discourses from the dangerous comparison between true eloquence and declamation.² The pupil, like his master, had a brilliant exterior. For the Senate and the public appearance, a grave air, pompous phrases, and effective language; but in private life he was allowed to form low or frivolous tastes. Seneca had anticipated Rousseau's advice; and Nero learned to do many things with which it was designed to occupy or distract his mind,—he could paint, engrave, and carve, could drive a chariot, accompany himself upon the lyre, and even compose verses with assistance.³ It would

¹ In chapter lxxxvii. sec. 2. Garat, who set about re-reading Seneca during the Reign of Terror, said: "There was but one thing left for us to learn, — how to die." This is almost the whole of Seneca's philosophy. Cf. Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses Origines*, ii. 256.

² *A cognitione veterum oratorum Seneca (principem avertit), quo diutius in admiratione sui detineret (Nero, 52).*

³ A very able writer says of him: "He painted well, and was a good sculptor; his poetry was good." Suetonius (*Nero*, 52) says in effect that he did all this, but does not add that he did it well; and Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 3) only gives him credit for having learned the elements

have been far better had he been trained to the management of affairs.

All this, however, was good, in a degree, if to regulate such external and multiform activity the tutor had been able to establish in the heart of his pupil those strong convictions of duty which are to the moral life what ballast is to the ship,—the condition of equilibrium and steadiness. Not that Seneca was sparing of good advice; he gave much, and in a magisterial tone. If he wished to recommend clemency, he dedicated to the young prince a treatise on the subject, and made haste to publish it; or he prepared another upon anger, in the finest pedagogic style. Vanity, that disease of artists, so fatal to statesmen, led him to compose on all occasions discourses for his pupil, after each of which the city resounded with praise of the philosopher's wisdom and the writer's genius.¹ This was for his advantage; but such an education, all words and figures, pedantic, declamatory, and false, led Nero to attach no more serious importance to the virtues thus recommended to him than to the other themes habitual to rhetoricians. He listened more willingly and understood better when Seneca said to him as Villeroy long after said to the boy Louis XV.: "Look at that city, those people; all is yours."² What possible use were the maxims of Zeno to this young madman after such teaching as to his omnipotence?

We cannot say that this was intention on Seneca's part, and that for his own advantage, in order to retain the power, he purposely neglected to instruct Nero in his royal trade. To teach it, Seneca needed to know it himself; and it is probable the philosopher had neither the practical sense nor the firm will which makes the great minister.³

We may also doubt whether the austere reputation of Burrus is more firmly based than that of Seneca. His culpable compliance with Nero's wishes is matter of history; and Josephus, a

of poetry. . . . *Inesse sibi elementa doctrinae ostendebat.* . . . Nerva, the future Emperor, was one of the revisers of Nero's poetry. Cf. Martial, *Epigram.* vii. 70.

¹ . . . *Crebris orationibus quas Seneca testificando quam honesta praeceperet, vel jactandi ingenii vocē principis vulgabat* (*Ann.* xiii. 11).

² If these were not the exact words of Seneca, the meaning is the same.

³ Philosophers and men of letters have naturally great indulgence for Seneca; not so historians. Cf. H. Schiller, *Gesch. des Nero*, *passim*, and pp. 294 *et seq.*

contemporary, accuses him of having sold to the Syrians, for a large sum of money, the imperial letters which became the cause of the revolt of the Jews and their great war.¹

This excuse, however, may be made for both, — Nero had scarcely emerged from childhood when he came into possession of imperial power. For how long a time did he control his passions in the midst of a society where the wisest were so rarely masters of theirs? Five years is the reply of the old historians, who forget that during this much-praised *quinquennium* occurred two murders, that of Britannicus and that of Agrippina. It is true that the removing of an heir presumptive passed for prudence at that time, and that murders in the ruler's own family were regarded as domestic concerns with which the public had no right to intermeddle.

Like Caligula, Nero began well; and, being spoiled by power, ended as did the former. In a discourse composed for him by Seneca,³ the young Emperor promised the Senate to take Augustus as his model, and to keep the imperial household distinct from the state; so that public affairs should no longer be managed by favorites and in the secrecy of the palace, but openly by senators and consuls, the legitimate magistrates of the state. The delighted Senate sought to bind the new ruler to his promises.



NERO AS A CHILD.²

¹ Πείθουσι [Βούρρον] πολλοῖς χρήμασιν (*Ant. Jud.* xx. 8).

² Bust of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,298.

³ Tacitus remarks that Nero was the first of the Caesars who had occasion to borrow another's eloquence (*Ann.* xiii. 3).

decreeing that his words should be engraved on a silver plate, and be solemnly read aloud by the consuls every year.

But the discourse having been recited and the show ended, Nero returned to his pleasures and to the young companions who already flattered his dawning passions, finding eulogies for all his follies and excuses for all his crimes. The frivolous and ambitious court gathering about him did not venture as yet to enter into rivalry with the other, over which his mother and the old statesmen reigned. Otho, the licentious Petronius, whom Nero called the arbiter of taste, and all the gay companions of the young Emperor still respected Agrippina; Burrus awed them, and Seneca was too yielding to excite their ill-will. For the



LAURELLED
AGRIPPINA.¹

moment Nero is the good son, the good young prince; he has caresses for his mother, pity for the unfortunate, sympathizing words when there must be severity. At the first combat of gladiators he will have no one killed; and one day, when Burrus brings him two death-sentences to sign, he cries: "Alas! I would that I could not write!"² Another day, when the Senate addresses formal thanks to him, he even remonstrates, saying: "Wait until I deserve it." Seneca doubtless suggested the reply. This sentimentality, very uncharacteristic of a Roman, made part of the *rôle* which the philosopher desired his pupil to play; and believing above all things in well-turned periods and effective phrases, Seneca felt that everything was secured when the prince had well recited his lesson.

Agrippina, on her part, was not anxious that her son's mind should mature early. She had raised Nero to the imperial throne chiefly that she might reign under his name. It is said that an astrologer had predicted to her that her son should be emperor, but that he would destroy her life. "Let me die," she replied, "if he but reign." Like so many other anecdotes, this is made after the event, and shows only one side of Agrippina's character. The sentiment ascribed to her by the French poet is truer, —

"Je le craindrais bientôt, s'il ne me craignait plus."

¹ Gold coin of the year 51 A. D.

² Sen., *De Clem.* ii. 1.

The Empress could not expect to retain the supreme power entirely in her own hands, but she hoped to have a share of it. Burrus and Seneca, who owed to her their elevation, and Pallas the freedman, steward of the palace and favorite of the Empress, could not be expected to oppose her designs, while Nero himself appeared to agree in the partition of authority. We have seen that¹ she had caused the death of Narcissus for her own interest, and that of Silanus for her son's; and her maternal forethought did not stop here. Had it not been for the opposition of the two ministers,² she would by other murders have freed Nero, without his connivance, from all future obstacles. Accordingly, the Emperor showed himself grateful for this love of the lioness

LAURELLED AGRIPPINA.³

defending her young with teeth and claws; his first countersign given to the guard was: "To the best of mothers." She never left him, writing his despatches, dictating his replies to ambassadors; and, that all the city should see her influence over him, she accompanied him in his litter, or caused him to walk beside that in which she was carried.⁴ She would not have dared to accompany him to the curia; but he assembled the Senate in the imperial palace, and, behind a veil, she was able to hear all that passed. On one occasion, when Nero was receiving the Armenian deputies, she approached, intending to seat herself at the Emperor's side; but Nero, warned by Seneca, came down to meet her: by this mark of respect preventing what

BUSTS OF NERO
AND AGRIPPINA
BORNE BY AN
EAGLE.⁵

¹ See p. 566. Narcissus had opposed her marriage with Claudius; he also possessed a hundred million sesterces, which she secured.

² . . . *Itaturque in caedes nisi Afranius Burrus et Annaeus Seneca obviam essent* (Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 2).

³ *Cabinet de France*, Cameo, No. 231.

⁴ *Matri summam omnium rerum privatarum publicarumque permisit* (Suet., *Nero*, 9. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 11). Agrippina's head is never alone on the Roman coins, except on Greek or Asiatic pieces; but it is repeated with that of Nero on a large number. Cf. Eckhel, *Doctr. num.* vol. i. pp. lxx and ii *passim*; Mionnet, vol. ii. *passim*; Cohen, i. 175-176.

⁵ *Cabinet de France*, Cameo, No. 237.

would have scandalized even the Romans of that period, — the public manifestation of a woman's arrogant intermeddling in affairs of state.¹

It soon began to appear necessary to the two ministers to restrain this domination, which had disgraced Claudius, and to cause the Emperor to be respected, even by his mother. Unfortunately Burrus and Seneca, notwithstanding the austerity of their doctrines, found no other expedient for breaking down Agrippina's influence than that of encouraging the passions of the young Emperor. His friends Otho and Senecio had more license given them; and Seneca himself



AGRIPPINA AND
NERO
(GOLD COIN).

was concerned in the intrigue with which Nero's career of profligacy began, — one of that philosopher's relatives lending his own name to cover the Emperor's intrigue with Acte, a freedwoman. He excused himself, doubtless, before his own philosophy, by repeating the line which an old commentator on Juvenal attributes to him, — "Let us prevent this wild beast from once tasting blood."²

Nero threw himself with ardor into the path thus opened to him, and soon began to talk of repudiating his virtuous wife, Octavia, and marrying Acte. Agrippina meanwhile complained that they had given her a slave for a rival; and, by her reproaches, merely alienated her son from herself. Perceiving this, she changed her tone and conduct, and lavished upon him pleasures and gold; for Pallas had made a fortune for her equal to that possessed by the Emperor himself. It was, however, too late; her caresses were as ineffectual as her anger had been. "I should prefer," Nero said, "to renounce the imperial power rather than support this tyranny."³ The ministers, by causing the disgrace of Pallas, left Agrippina no uncertainty as to her own loss of influence.⁴ At this blow, Agrippina broke out into threats that she would reveal all, — she would present Britannicus to the

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 5.

² *Ad Sat.* v. 109: *Non fore saevo illi leonem quin, gustato semel hominis cruore, ingenua redeat saevitia.*

³ Cf. Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 2; Suet., *Nero*, 28; Dion, lxi. 2.

⁴ He was replaced in the management of the finances of the imperial household by the freedman Etruscus, who retained his position until the reign of Domitian. Cf. Statius and Martial.

praetorians, would publish all the crimes of the Caesars, the poisonings and incest, and would restore to the legitimate heir the paternal crown which a usurper retained to insult his mother.

Nero too well remembered the "food of the gods"¹ not to be beforehand with her. "Britannicus," says Tacitus, "was entering upon his fifteenth year. On one occasion, at the Saturnalia, Nero and he were playing with other lads of their age, and the party drew lots for the royalty; the lot fell to the Emperor, who gave the others orders easy to execute, but bade his brother come forward in the presence of the assembly and sing them some song, to exhibit the fine voice which had been so much praised."² Nero hoped to embarrass the boy and raise a laugh at his expense. Britannicus, not at all disconcerted, gave the old verses of Ennius:³ "O my father! O my country! O house of Priam!" etc.

By these complaints of another royal boy deprived of the paternal heritage, Britannicus seemed to recall his own misfortunes and the usurpation. Public emotion was excited; the young Emperor's hatred was increased thereby; and from that day he formed the resolution to set himself free from the imprudent youth who dared to remember the past. Locusta was still kept alive, and a tribune of the praetorians had her in charge. Nero called the soldier and ordered a poison, which Locusta prepared; but it was too feeble, or seemed to the Emperor too slow. He threatened the tribune, and struck the poisoner a blow with his own hand. He ordered her immediate execution; but she remonstrated, saying that it was her intention to avoid sudden death in order to conceal the murder. "Am I afraid of the Julian⁴ law?" cries the imperial assassin; and he will have Locusta prepare at once in the palace, under his own eyes, a more rapid poison. He tries its effect upon animals, and requires the dose to be increased.

It had been the custom at table for the younger members of

¹ *Θεῶν βρῶμα*: this was the name given to mushrooms, the dish by means of which Claudius had been made a god, — by poisoning him (see p. 565).

² Suetonius (*Nero*, 33) says that Britannicus had a beautiful voice, and that this was one of the reasons why Nero hated him.

³ This, at least, is the opinion of Justus Lipsius. The verses are in Cicero (*Tusc.* iii. 19).

⁴ *De beneficiis*.

the imperial family to partake of a separate and more frugal repast, in the presence of their elders. Britannicus still sat among the children; but he had formed the habit of eating nothing until the dish had been tasted by a confidential slave. To kill both slave and master would have revealed the crime. Britannicus was handed a beverage which the slave could taste with impunity, but so hot that the prince called for water to render it cooler, and with the water the poison was added to the cup. The unfortunate boy fell senseless. Some screamed with terror, others fled from the table; but those who had most presence of mind remained seated, and looked at Nero, who, with perfect composure, said to them: "This is an attack of epilepsy to which my brother is subject; he will speedily recover consciousness." And he went on drinking, while slaves took up the body to bear it to the funeral pile which had been made ready in advance for the last scion of the Claudian family.

On the morrow Nero issued an edict, in which he apologized for the promptness of the obsequies. It had been, he said, the custom of their ancestors to withdraw from public observation the funerals of the young, not to prolong the grief by more formal obsequies. For himself, deprived of a brother's support, all his hope now depended upon the state,—a new motive for the Senate and the people to surround with their affection a prince, the last scion of a family born for the supreme power.

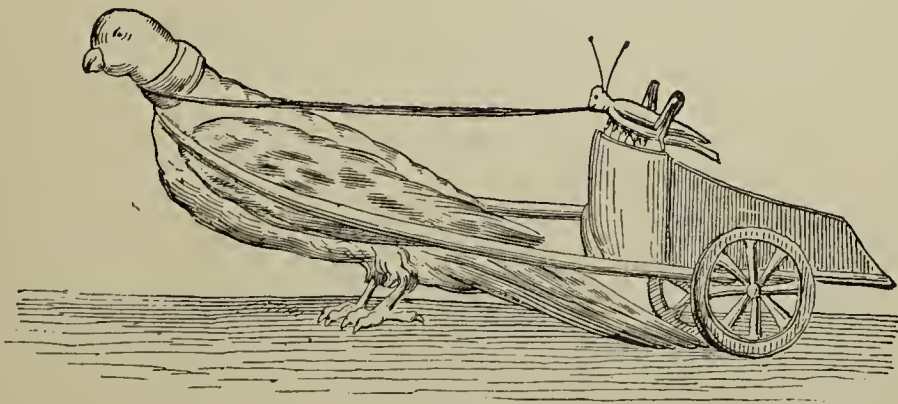
Agrippina, who was present at the banquet, recognized her own teaching; and with Britannicus her last hope perished: nor could she conceal her terror. In the city not a voice was raised against the fratricide, and many even excused it;¹ the noblest, even the most austere, persons in Rome, says Tacitus,—by these words doubtless indicating Burrus and Seneca,—made themselves accomplices by accepting the lands and palaces of the victim (55 A. D.). Seneca even went farther; a few months later he dedicated to Nero his treatise upon Clemency, in which he congratulated the young Emperor on not having as yet shed a drop of blood.²

¹ *Plerique hominum ignoscebant, antiquas fratrum discordias et insociabile regnum aestimantes* (Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 17).

² *De Clem.* 1, 2, 9. Merivale even believes (vi. 93–95) that Seneca knew what was done and aided in it. Dr. Raabe, in his work on Nero, expresses the same opinion: *So sind (Seneca und Burrus) und bleiben sie doch immer in den Augen der Nachwelt Kindermörder*"

Locusta also had her reward,—impunity and vast domains; with them, however, the obligation to make pupils in her art, which seems to have become an institution of state.¹

Agrippina, however, did not retire from the conflict. She amassed money, and flattered the senators and centurions, as if to gather a party; at least it was so asserted. Nero then deprived her of her guards and sent her away from the palace. He did not, however, break with her; but from this time forward he visited her rarely, and always accompanied by a guard, as if he feared



NERO AS A PARROT, DRIVEN BY LOCUSTA AS A GRASSHOPPER.²

some treason, and manifesting coldness and embarrassment in his manner towards her. The disgrace of the Empress was quickly recognized; all abandoned her except a few women, who still visited her,—either from some remaining affection, or more probably to take a feminine pleasure in her humiliation. An incident worthy of an Oriental court came near precipitating the catastrophe which some persons now began to foresee. Agrippina had a friend, Junia Silana,³ widow of that Silius who had been Messalina's lover. This person, no longer young, but extremely rich, proposed to take a young husband. Agrippina, not so old as Junia, and remaining in

(p. 119). It has, on the other hand, been maintained in Germany (Stahr, *Agrippina*, p. 247), and even in England, that the whole story was a fable. I have said in its place why I do not believe in the murder of Germanicus under Tiberius; for contrary reasons, I absolutely do believe in that of Britannicus under Nero.

¹ . . . *impunitatem, praediaque ampla, sed et discipulos dedit* (Suet., *Nero*, 33).

² Pompeian painting, often called the Caricature of Seneca, but also regarded as Locusta driving Nero (Monaco, *Le Musée national de Naples*, pl. 16).

³ Cf. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 209.

widowhood, considered the intention unbecoming,¹ and prevented the marriage. To revenge herself, Silana caused the Empress to be accused by two of her clients of inciting to revolt Rubellius Plautus, who on the mother's side was as near akin to Augustus as was Nero. The Emperor was to be assassinated; upon which Agrippina, marrying Rubellius, would reign jointly with him. The two clients dared not go straight to the palace with so grave a revelation, but repeated what they had been taught to a freedman of Nero's aunt Domitia, a mortal enemy of Agrippina; and the freedman, delighted to serve his mistress's hatred, revealed the whole to the actor Paris, an old comrade in slavery. The latter had free entry to the palace at all times, and he now came to the Emperor during a nocturnal debauch. On hearing the story Nero was filled with terror and rage; he wished to kill them all, beginning with his mother, and to expel Burrus, who had been blind to this conspiracy, — doubtless because he owed his fortune to the Empress. Seneca calmed the imperial anger by explaining to Nero that, although there was an accusation, there were as yet no proofs; and Burrus promised that the Empress should die if she could not prove herself innocent.

In the morning Burrus, Seneca, and the freedmen went to her dwelling, and the haughty Empress was reduced to appear before her own creatures as an accused person. She did this with her accustomed arrogance; demanded an interview with the Emperor, and instead of begging for her life, demanded that her accusers should be punished, and that positions of importance should be bestowed on those who had proved themselves her friends. For once again Nero obeyed his mother. Silana was condemned to exile;² her clients to banishment from Rome; the too-zealous freedman to death; and no notice was taken of the rest.

These gloomy stories of the palace have become, owing to Tacitus and to the general taste for dramatic narrative, almost the sole history of the Emperors; there is, however, another, and Seneca and Burrus, now more at liberty, were making it, as they essayed by wise measures to conciliate for their pupil the affection

¹ *Impudicam et vergentem annis dictitans* (Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 19).

² The difference between exile and banishment (*relegatio*) was that the former destroyed, and the latter did not destroy, the civil rights of the person punished.

of the Senate and the provinces. These two ministers, who under a different master or with a firmer character of their own might have preserved their honor, showed sufficient ability in the ordinary affairs of government. They complemented each other well, the philosopher supplying what the soldier and statesman lacked; and they gave the rare example of two friends dividing power with mutual good faith.¹ They took measures against counterfeits,² caused dishonest pleaders to be condemned,³ suppressed the dues which had been paid to judges, supporting the principle that the state owed its citizens gratuitous justice,⁴ and listened to the complaints that were still made against dishonest publicans. This is not to say that the old exactions had reappeared, but only that the people, habituated to order and justice, had become more fastidious. Seneca understood, better than the mocking spitefulness of the *Apokolokyntosis* would make us believe, the new paths upon which men had entered. The citizen of the town of Corduba, the philosopher who, in his writings, even went far to efface the difference between the slave and the patrician, could not in public affairs make great account of Roman supremacy and provincial inferiority. Thus by the progress of ideas and by reason of the very position of the Emperors themselves, since the time of Tiberius, towards the aristocracy, the provinces saw their condition ameliorated. For twenty years after his death the memory of Nero was cherished in the East; and everywhere, except in Rome and Italy, Domitian was regarded as an excellent ruler.

At the instigation of his counsellors Nero proposed in the year 58 A. D. a measure which we should call very democratic; namely, the suppression, in favor of commerce, industry, and the poor, of all indirect taxes, — which would have implied, as a necessary consequence, the augmentation of the taxes on property and on inheritances. The rich, to whom this project was unfavorable, caused the Senate to reject the imperial measure; and Tacitus,

¹ It is a singular fact that Seneca and Suetonius never but once mention the name of Burrus (*De Clem.* 7, and *Nero*, 35), and the two Plinys never. We know him, and only imperfectly, through Tacitus.

² Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 41; Suet., *Nero*, 17; Paulus, *Sent.* v., all of chapter 25, and especially paragraph 6.

³ Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 30, 33, 52; xiv. 18, 28, 46.

⁴ Suet., *Nero*, 17: *Praebente aerario gratuita.*

always friendly to the higher class, congratulates himself on the failure of a plan which may, perhaps, have been impracticable, but certainly was not understood by him.¹ However, some useful reforms were made. It was directed that the regulations in regard to each form of tax should be publicly posted, so that the taxpayers might be able to know perfectly how far the rights of the publicans extended. At the end of a year there was release from any tax which the collector might have omitted to



ROPE-DANCER AS FAUN.²

levy; for complaints, on the contrary, all days were legal. The magistrates were enjoined never to refuse to examine into an accusation against farmers of the revenue; and all suits of this kind were to be settled in the Forum before the ordinary judges, with a right of appeal to the Senate, instead of being brought before the officers of the treasury, in

that case both judge and party. Certain advantages were granted the corn-growing provinces in the matter of transportation to Rome; vessels employed in this service ceased to be comprised in the census, so that merchants beyond sea no longer paid any tax upon such portion of their fortune as was represented by their vessels. The mania for games had seized upon the provinces: all the governors desired to celebrate them; but they were forbidden to do so, since it was usually the inhabitants upon whom fell the costs of this ruinous display. Further regulations of a very

¹ *Ann.* xiii. 50-51.

² *Monaco*, pl. 16.

wise character, says Tacitus, were established, but they were not long observed. The suppression of the tax of the fortieth and fiftieth,¹ and of some other dues illegally levied, continued up to the time of Trajan.

At Rome the guards stationed to preserve order at the games were withdrawn, in order that the people might appear more free; but really that the discipline of the soldiers might not be impaired. Men who had served as informers were sought out, and their recompense reduced to one fourth of what the Poppaeian law had allowed; senators who were in needy circumstances were relieved;² the poor were protected against the quaestors of the treasury, who used their right of search too severely; the public credit was reinforced by a gift of forty million sesterces to the *aerarium*;³ the people, finally, received distributions of money and provisions, and especially were entertained with games and theatrical representations. Notwithstanding Nero's taste for amusements of this kind, play-actors and charioteers were expelled from Italy, for the theatre and the circus had become places for cabals and factions.

Another measure was directly for the benefit of slaves. At Rome the prefect of the city, and in the provinces the governors, were required to receive the complaints of slaves suffering from the cruelty of their masters;⁴ and later the Antonines instituted for cases of the kind a severe penalty. We have here a proof of movement towards a more generous solution of this great social question; it had already begun under Claudius, and will be seen to increase in almost every reign, and bring about important changes in legislation. But the old Roman party, which had just proposed the law against freedmen, were able to obtain the passage of a still more terrible one; namely, condemning all the slaves of an assassinated master, and those enfranchised by will who resided under his roof, to share the punishment of the murderer. If they

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xii. 51. The 4 per cent tax on the price of slaves was henceforth paid, not, as formerly, by the buyer, but by the seller, as was the case in all sales; but this in reality made no difference, since the seller augmented his price by so much (*Ann.* xiii. 31).

² They received an annual donation of five hundred thousand sesterces (Suet., *Nero*, 10).

³ In the year 62 the Emperor complained in an edict that he was obliged to give every year sixty million sesterces to the state to refill the exhausted *aerarium*, and he appointed a commission, composed of three ex-consuls, *ad vectigalia publica*, — doubtless to take measures to make good the deficit (Tac., *Ann.* xv. 18).

⁴ Sen., *De Benef.* iii. 22; *Digest*, i. 12, 1, sec. 1; *ibid.* xiii. 7, 24, sec. 3.

were not guilty of killing their master, they were at least criminal in not having defended him.¹ An occasion shortly presented itself for enforcing this terrible law. The prefect of the city having been assassinated, all his slaves, four hundred in number, were ordered to execution. The populace, seeking to deliver them, armed themselves with stones and sticks; but Nero promulgated a severe edict, and posted the praetorian cohorts along the streets through which the condemned were to pass. The people now began to have pity for these unfortunate beings, whom at an earlier period they had regarded as only good to furnish amusement in being thrown to wild beasts in the amphitheatre. Nero for many years made it a rule never to admit the sons of freedmen to a seat in the Senate.

Through dislike of the palaeae functionaries and their late domination in the time of Claudius, the Senate were disposed to increase the severity of the laws in respect to freedmen, by permitting patrons to restore to servitude those who had shown themselves unworthy of liberty. This was calling in question the position of a multitude of citizens. The Emperor wisely refused any general measure of the kind, and only authorized individual prosecutions on account of particular occurrences;² but he suffered the Senate to suppress the fees of the advocates and the obligation for quaestors-elect to give games of gladiators,—a twofold favor to the aristocracy, since the former decision, by removing poor men from the bar, gave over to the rich the influence which that function secured; and the latter relieved of a heavy expense the young nobles who were entering on public life.

Some few changes were made in respect to the jurisdiction of the inferior magistrates. What remained of the prerogatives of the tribunes and aediles was still further diminished, to the advantage of the praetors and consuls; so that the two former offices, once so important in the state, sank to the condition of simple magistracies of the city of Rome. The quaestors, to whom Claudius had intrusted the administration of the treasury, lacked authority by reason of their youth; and the old regulation of Augustus was revived, giving this office to ex-praetors.³

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 32.

² *Ibid.* 26–27.

³ Upon these reforms, see Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 26–29, 31, 34. Suetonius says (*Nero*, 16): *Multa sub eo animadversa severe et coercita nec minus instituta.*

Upon the whole, Burrus and Seneca, aided by the Senate, for whom they manifested great consideration, guided the state judiciously. The young ruler himself in his public life appeared with dignity. When, as consul, he sat upon the tribunal, he was attentive, and listened carefully to those who pleaded before him, forbidding long harangues; upon the conclusion of the case he did not at once give a decision, but put it in writing the following day, after having privately consulted with the other judges. This parade of conscientiousness ended with the sitting of the court; and Rome, which had marvelled at his precocious gravity, learned with amazement that its Emperor ran about the city streets by night in the disguise of a slave, frequenting shops and taverns to break and pillage, or attacking late pedestrians,—at the risk of finding some one stronger than himself.¹ Thus it happened that a senator, Julius Montanus, gave him back with interest the blows received, and very nearly caused the Emperor's death. But Julius had the imprudence to recognize his sovereign in the brawler whom he had handled so roughly, and the still greater folly of humbly apologizing for the act. Upon this the Emperor bethought himself of his tribunitian inviolability, and the senator was obliged to die by his own hand. From that time forward Nero did not again risk himself without guards, who followed him at a distance, and in case of need interposed an armed defence.² By day, in the theatre, the Emperor disturbed public order, encouraging the applause or the outcries exciting the people to break the benches and to fight each other on the stage, ending by himself taking part in the encounter and throwing missiles from his high seat, one of which, striking a praetor, wounded him in the hand.³

These coarse follies were only whims willingly pardoned in the young Emperor. Sons of good families and young fops (*trossuli*) considered these proceedings vastly amusing, and delighted to imitate them,—which they did so effectually that, according to Tacitus, Rome by night resembled a city taken by assault. More-

¹ [These pranks are attributed to Antiochus Epiphanes by Polybius, and to our Prince Henry (V.) by Shakspeare. — Ed.]

² Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 25.

³ Suet., *Nero*, 26.

over, it was but the obscure crowd who as yet furnished material for the imperial amusements. But passions grew apace, and crimes were about to begin.

II. — MURDERS AND ORGIES.

OTHO had married Sabina Poppaea, esteemed the most beautiful woman in Rome. The very type of an ambitious coquette,¹ the model of those women who have not the excuse of passion for their misconduct, she loved herself only, worshipped only her own beauty, and cared for nothing but to secure the supremacy of her own fascinations. She hoped to die before losing the charms of her face, and to increase their effect she was never seen without a veil. Otho was deeply enamoured of Poppaea;³ but he committed the error of praising her to Nero, who desired to see her. Fascinated and allured by artful denials and skilful coquetry, he soon forgot both the virtuous Octavia, his own wife, and his imprudent favorite, Poppaea's husband. Otho was exiled, as governor of Lusitania (58 A. D.), and detained in that remote province for ten years.



POPPEA.²

Up to this time Nero had concealed his irregularities and vices.⁴ Under the influence of this arrogant and artful woman, who had risked all to reach the point where she now stood, he ceased to control his evil dispositions, and his two ministers lost ground as Poppaea gained it. Too proud to remain the Emperor's mistress, Poppaea desired to share the imperial throne. Two women hindered the fulfilment of her wish, — Octavia, the legitimate wife, and Agrippina, who was not disposed to have the marriage she had brought about annulled for the sake of a rival vastly more dangerous than the freedwoman whose favor with the Emperor

¹ She employed all recipes at that time known, and they were already numerous, to prevent . . . *des ans l'irréparable outrage*. She covered her face with a mask as a protection against the sun, and wherever she went a herd of five hundred she-asses followed her, to supply milk for the baths whereby she sought to preserve the freshness of her skin.

² ΠΟΠΗΑΙΑ ΝΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ (Poppaea, wife of Nero Augustus). Silver coin.

³ Her statues were overthrown at the same time with Nero's; but Otho, upon his accession, had them replaced.

⁴ Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 47.

had lately alarmed her. Agrippina was the more formidable of the two; for, daughter of Germanicus and great-granddaughter of Augustus, sister of Caligula and widow of Claudius, she united in her own person all the prestige and, many persons were not far from thinking, all the rights of the imperial house in which Domitius Nero was but a stranger. Would she have



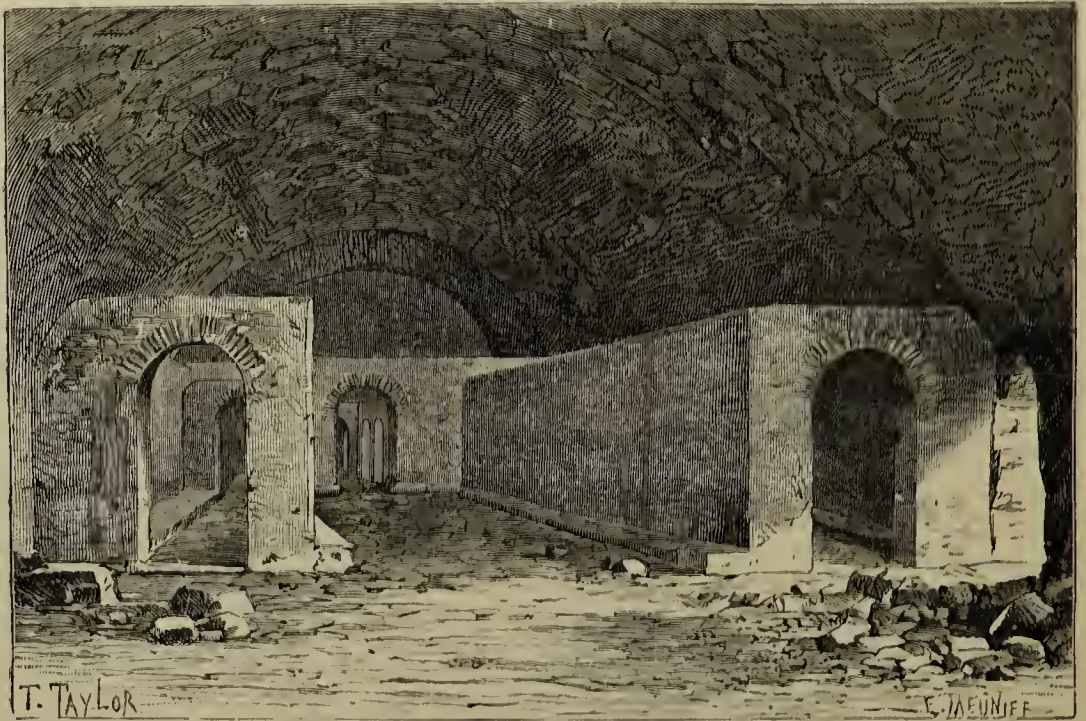
OCTAVIA AND NERO.¹

gone so far as to make good her threats? Would she have been willing to overthrow the fortune she herself had reared? It is difficult to believe that she would, although we can easily imagine the commission of one crime more in this family of Roman Atridae. Poppaea undertook to make this appear probable to Nero, who, weary of obeying when all the world beside yielded obedience to him, had already substituted hatred for affection towards Agrippina. Poppaea by her sarcasms irritated the impetuous youth, who submitted, she said, to be, not an emperor, but only a pupil under the charge of a haughty governess; and at other times she pointed out to him the insulting pride, the dangerous ambition of this woman, who would not hesitate to sacrifice her son to her ancestors and to herself.

Nero was only too willing to listen to language like this. The idea of ridding himself of an inconvenient censor, already familiar to his mind, no longer alarmed him; for some time he had hesitated not so much at the heinousness of crime as in respect to the means of accomplishing it. Steel left traces, and it was not easy to administer poison. Agrippina remembered too well the mushrooms which had despatched Claudius, and the cup served to Britannicus; she had, moreover, it was said, familiarized herself with antidotes, and might save herself even after an attempt upon her life. The freedman Anicetus, in command of the fleet at Misenum, proposed a plan which seemed likely to obviate all suspicion. Nero was at Baiae; he invited his mother thither by affectionate letters, loaded her with demonstrations of devotion, and after supper himself attended her to the splendidly appointed vessel which awaited her.

¹ NERO. CLAV. CAES. AVG. GERM. IMP. TR. P. COS. Heads of Octavia and Nero facing each other, surmounted, the former by a crescent, the latter by a star. Bronze coin.

The gods, says Tacitus, seemed to have prepared specially for that night the radiance of the celestial fires and the calm of a peaceful sea. The vessel pursued its silent course ; one of Agrippina's women, sitting at the foot of her mistress's couch, was talking with rapture of the Emperor's change of feeling, of his manifestations of affection, and of the favor in which Agrippina was now held. Suddenly a crash was heard ; the vessel gave way, and the waves rushed in through a great gap. One of the officers on guard near the Empress was crushed in the disaster ; but the canopy over the bed protected the Empress and her attendant.



INTERIOR VIEW OF NERO'S BATHS AT BAIÆ.¹

Freeing herself from the wreck, the latter, in order to attract notice and secure her own safety, cries out that she is the Emperor's mother ; upon which she is despatched with oars and boat-hooks. Agrippina, keeping silent, swims, although wounded ; and, being picked up by a boat, finally reaches Lake Lucrinus and her country-house.

The crime was too evident ; the Empress, however, feigned not to be aware of it, lest it should be accomplished, and sent word at once to her son that the goodness of the gods and the

¹ Engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris.

fortune of the Emperor had saved her from the greatest danger. Nero was already aware of the event; and, alarmed at the idea of his mother's anger and the probability that she would excite the praetorians against him, he asked counsel of Seneca and Burrus, who perhaps had not been aware of the meditated crime.¹ They remained for a long time silent; at last Seneca spoke: "Would the soldiery be willing to complete the murder?" he inquired of the praetorian prefect. But Burrus, on behalf of his praetorians,



BATHS OF NERO AT BAIÆ, SEEN FROM THE SEA.

declined the task. "They are too much attached," he said, "to the family of the Caesars, and also to the memory of Germanicus; let Anicetus finish what he has begun." The freedman accepted the proposal. "At last," Nero said, "I shall reign."

The conference was just ending when Agrippina's messenger

¹ Xiphilinus, following Dion (lxi. 13), accuses Seneca of being the instigator of the murder, affirming that there are numerous witnesses on this point. Tacitus limits himself to saying: . . . *incertum an et ante ignaros* (*Ann.* xiv. 7).

arrived. Nero let a dagger fall at the man's feet, and cried out, "An assassin!" He was seized, and loaded with chains. Nero had now the pretext that Roman baseness needed to transfer the blame: it is the mother who has tried to kill her son, and in despair at the failure takes her own life. The murderers penetrated to the bed-chamber of the Empress; one of them struck her on the head,¹ and she was quickly despatched.

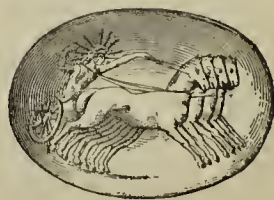
No sooner was the infamous crime committed than Nero had a moment of remorse and terror. His base counsellors hastened to his relief, — Seneca writing to the Senate, in the Emperor's name, to accuse Agrippina and thank the tutelary genius of the Empire, which had sought by a shipwreck to frustrate her guilty designs,² and Burrus bringing the centurions and tribunes to the Emperor to felicitate him on having escaped his mother's conspiracy. The cue was given; the victim became the assassin. The temples stood open, incense smoked upon the altars; the whole court, then the Senate, the adjacent cities, the provinces, all united in thanking the gods for the Emperor's safety. There was a general rivalry throughout the Empire in stifling, by outbursts of rejoicing, the cry of nature in the murderer's heart.³ One man alone, on the day when the Senate vowed statues to Minerva and to the Emperor on account of the discovery of the pretended conspiracy, — one man alone, Thrasea, had the courage to rise and go out. "Useless and dangerous courage," Tacitus says. But it was not useless: for this silent protest showed at least that there were yet those who would not suffer the universal pollution; and when moral ideas were everywhere clouded, it was indeed needful that some one, though at the cost of his life, should guard and transmit the sacred trust of conscience. In pagan Rome this honor belongs to the Stoics; and Thrasea, with his wife, daughter of the heroic Arria, and his son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus, were at the time the most illustrious representatives of that school. An isolated group, they could but give the tyrant the lesson of their silence.

¹ *Feri ventrem*, she is reported to have exclaimed (Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 8.)

² Quintilian cites a passage from this letter (viii. 5, 18): *Salvum me esse adhuc nec credo, nec gaudeo.*

³ Quintilian further quotes the words of Julius Africanus, in the name of Gaul: *Rogant te, Caesar, Galliae tuae ut felicitatem tuam fortiter feras* (*ibid.* 16). The Arval Brethren offered sacrifices at the Capitol, in the Forum, and before the paternal house of Nero, thanking the gods for his safety (Henzen, *Scavi nel bosco sacro dei fratelli Arvali*, p. 20).

This lesson, however, was unheard by Nero amidst the acclamations of the public. When he returned from Campania to Rome, the tribunes came out to meet him, the Senate had put on festal garments, women and children were ranged in bands, according to age and sex, as in religious ceremonies, and everywhere amphitheatres were erected, as in the case of triumphs. Imperial Rome celebrated the murderer's festival, and Nero triumphed through the baseness of the Romans. What thoughts occupied his mind as he made his way up to the Capitol, through the crowded masses of human beings, as guilty as himself, since they so willingly became his accomplices? At what caprices, what crimes, will he now hesitate, since it is not alone their political rights, but their consciences, which these men have surrendered into his hands?



APOLLO, THE SUN-GOD,
IN A CHARIOT
WITH FOUR HORSES.¹

Poppaea had now only Octavia to fear. This young woman, innocent and unprotected, interested the people, and a remnant of affection for fallen royalty protected in Nero's house the daughter of Claudius. Octavia, moreover, made no effort against her unworthy rival; gentle and submissive, she yielded at every point to Poppaea, who, to make herself more sure of her sway, removed Nero from public affairs and incited him to all forms of disorder.

His first whim was to drive a chariot in the circus. Seneca remonstrated, urging the dignity of his position; but Nero knew his Homer, and cited the ancient heroes, and Apollo, the divine charioteer, and mythology, and the history of Greece. For the Greeks, public games were a noble recreation, like the tournaments of the Middle Ages. At Rome, where these games had been abandoned to slaves, they became what slaves would make them, — a school of infamy, branding all those who took part in them. Nero, the least Roman of all the Emperors, saw no disgrace in following these foreign customs. He believed himself to be copying Greek life when he did but travesty it. His ministers gave way; in the valley of the Vatican an inclosure was prepared wherein he might display his skill, under the eyes of the court. But the plaudits of the courtiers had, he thought, a suspicious air of flattery; he would

¹ Engraved gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,479.

have the applause of the people as well: and the crowd, being admitted, were so lavish of their acclamations that the gratified Emperor believed that he had surpassed the most famous victors.

His appetite whetted by this easy success, he also desired to gratify his vanity as a poet and singer. A court theatre was prepared; and upon its stage, to prepare the way for the imperial mountebank, ex-consuls and women of the highest rank represented the most shameless plays, after which Nero sang his verses, accompanying himself upon the lyre. A cohort of praetorians and their centurions and tribunes were present, with Burrus, in deep distress and shame, but loud in his applause (59 A. D.).¹



NERO, DRIVING A CHARIOT.²

In his passion for Greek shows, the Emperor next conceived the idea of establishing a competition between orators and poets; and after that, the Neronian games, celebrated every five years at the expense of the state, where were offered prizes for music,³ for riding, and for gymnastic exercises. At the first contest the judges naturally decreed to the Emperor the palm of eloquence and poetry; and the Senate, not to be left behind, decreed thanks to the gods for this victory, which decorated Rome with a new glory; and the verses of the poetic Caesar, engraved in golden letters, were dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus. But servile decrees were no novelty: Nero obtained more than that from the obsequious Senate. During his reign, short as it was, four hundred senators and six hundred knights went down into the arena as gladiators.⁴ They had not even the honor which was allowed the slaves, — that of death, valiantly given or received; Nero for once, at least, forbade that the blows should be mortal. However, he

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 15.

² Cameo of the fifth century. Nero, standing in a quadriga, the rayed crown upon his head, holds in the right hand the *mappa circensis*, a white cloth, with which the presiding officer at the games gave the signal. In his left hand he holds the consular sceptre. The legend reads thus: NERON AΓΟΥΣΤΕ (Chabouillet, *Catalogue* No. 238).

³ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 21; Suet., *Nero*, 12.

⁴ These are the figures given by Suetonius (*Nero*, 12). I am disposed to cut off a cipher from each of these numbers.

made some of them fight with wild beasts, — quite capable, certainly, of failing to observe this discretion. Suetonius says: “Many positions in the circus were filled by knights and senators.”¹

“Every day, during these games, provisions and presents of all kinds were distributed to the people; thousands of birds, meats in profusion, tickets for corn, garments, gold, silver, and gems, pearls, pictures, slaves, beasts of burden, tamed animals, even vessels, islands, and estates.” For the populace of Rome the Empire was a well-spread table.

Nero was at this time twenty-two years of age. Notwithstanding his connection with Poppaea, his murder of Britannicus and Agrippina, his shameful orgies, and the public scandals of his reign, Seneca and Burrus commended themselves for their toleration. They believed they had gained, in return for the crimes they had not prevented and the pleasures they had allowed, liberty to work for the good of the state.



NERO, VICTOR IN THE GREEK GAMES.²

In truth Rome, Italy, and the provinces were leading a peaceful life. The city, whatever Tacitus may say, certainly was not given up to pillage every night. The promises which the Emperor had made at his accession were still observed. The Senate³ and the consuls had charge of important affairs, and public

¹ *Ex iisdem ordinibus varia arenae ministeria* (Suet., *Nero*, 12).

² Bust of Parian marble (Museum of the Louvre). Nero wears the radiate crown with eight rays.

³ To increase the respect felt for senators, the Emperor decreed that for appeals to the Senate the same amount of money should be deposited as in the case of appeals to the Emperor.

office was now sought for as it had not been for many years. In the year 60, for the praetorship, which was in the gift of the Senate, there was such violent canvassing that the intervention of the Emperor became necessary. Nero settled the dispute, compensating each of the three unsuccessful candidates with the command of a legion.¹ The laws were executed and crimes punished, even in the case of powerful offenders. A tribune of the people having committed a murder, fell under the penalty of the Cornelian law *de Sicariis*; a senator, several knights, and a quaestor were exiled for forging wills (61 A. D.).² A person belonging to the imperial household, accused of selling the Emperor's favor, having uttered written insults against the Senate and the pontiffs, was banished from Italy.³ The law concerning treason was sinking into oblivion; since the time of Claudius no use had been made of it. Nero had, it is true, exiled to Marseilles Cornelius Sylla, accused of a design to surprise and kill the Emperor during one of his orgies. The charge was false; for if there were frequently conspiracies in the senate-house, the freedmen, to promote their own consequence, more frequently still pretended to discover them in the palace.⁴ This exile of Sylla was the prelude to the war Nero was about to begin upon all whom he regarded as claimants for the throne. In this ill-constituted state the reigning Emperor expiated his tyranny by the terror which the future Emperor occasioned him. However, as yet there had been no murder by forms of law, and even the ruler had been heard, during an illness, to mention the names of possible successors, and indicate one of them, Memmius Regulus, as in his judgment most suitable. But another Roman of the old school, Rubellius Plautus, belonging on the mother's side to the Julian family, having, notwithstanding his reserve and the obscurity in which he kept himself, attracted public attention, Nero ordered him to go and live upon his estates in Asia, for the sake of the general tranquillity;⁵ and two years later the Emperor had

¹ *Ann.* xiv. 28. In 62 A. D. it became necessary to prohibit fictitious adoptions, because many, in order to have the benefit of the preference accorded by the Papian-Poppaeian law to fathers of families, made adoptions and annulled them after the election. Cf. *Ibid.* xv. 19.

² Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 40: *lege Cornelia damnatur*. This law pronounced deportation and confiscation, and, for slaves, death (*Digest*, xlviii. 10, fr. i. sec. 13).

³ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 50.

⁴ *Ibid.* xiii. 47.

⁵ *Consuleret quieti Urbis* (Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 22).

him assassinated there. It was not until the year 62 that charges of treason began to be made. A. praetor, Antistius Sosianus, in the presence of a numerous company, recited a satirical poem upon Nero. Being brought before the Senate, he was condemned, at the instance of Thrasea, to exile upon an island, with confiscation of property.¹ Thrasea had applied to the case only the law concerning libel, — an ingenious evasion, whereby the more formidable weapon remained in its sheath. The same sentence was passed in the case of Fabricius Veiento, accused of libelling the Emperor and the pontiffs. He was expelled from Italy, and his writings ordered to be burned; “which,” says Tacitus, “were sought for and read with avidity so long as there was danger in doing so, and fell into oblivion when it was permitted to possess them.”² Cornutus was guilty of but one remark. Nero proposed to write the poetical history of Rome in four hundred books. “That is too much,” he said; “no one would read it.” And for this he was sent into exile.

Italy did not recover its population, because the foreign importation of corn,³ the great domains, accumulated by confiscations in the possession of the Emperor and his favorites, and, lastly, the constant emigration of the free inhabitants, rendered agriculture onerous and the fields desert. Nero wished to send veterans to colonize Antium and Tarentum, where there were no inhabitants; but not one was willing to go;⁴ they preferred to settle in the provinces where they had served. Campania alone, in the peninsula, was flourishing, thanks to its fine climate and extensive commerce. Puteoli was so rich that the city had combats of gladiators, to which all Campania flocked, and disturbances between nobles and plebeians, as formerly in Rome. On one occasion there were brought to Rome a great number of people of Nuceria who had been wounded and mutilated in a severe affray with some

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 48, 49.

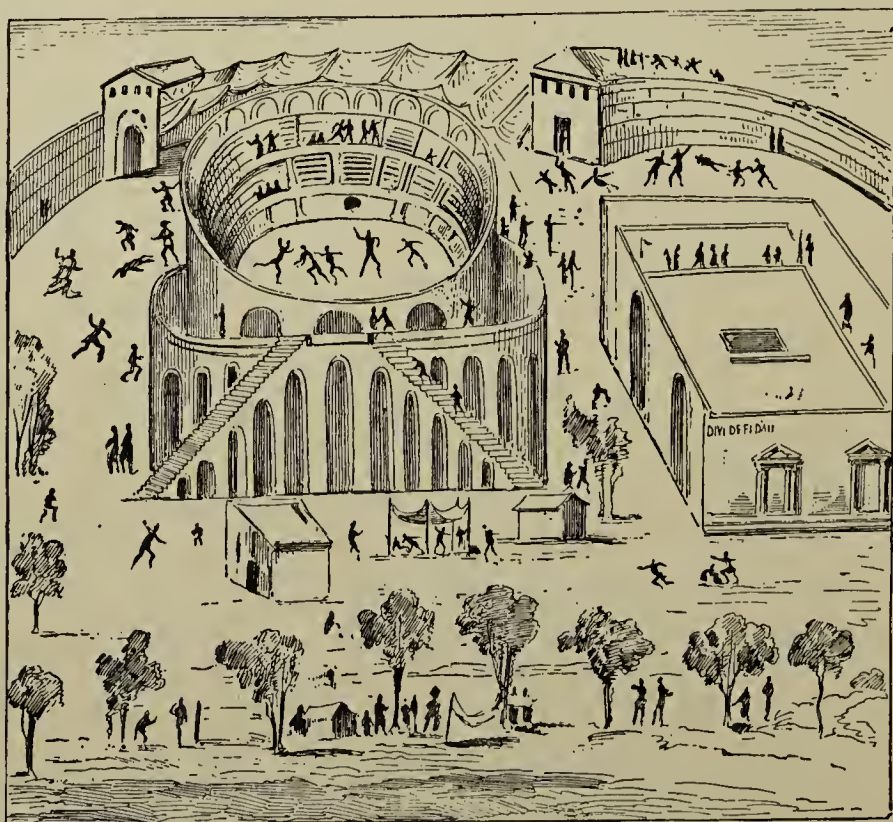
² *Ibid.* 50.

³ The importation of grain went on at Rome upon so large a scale that the price was not raised in the year 63, although Nero caused all that had been spoiled to be recovered from the people and thrown into the Tiber, and a tempest had destroyed, in the river and at Ostia, three hundred vessels (Tac., *Ann.* xv. 18).

⁴ *Ibid.* xiv. 27. Upper Italy did not share in this decline, and the population of the Maritime Alps was so Romanized that in 63 A.D. Nero gave them the *jus Latii* (Tac., *Ann.* xv. 32).

Pompeians,¹ and the Senate was obliged to interfere. Pompeii lost for ten years the right of giving combats of gladiators; all unauthorized associations were broken up, and many citizens condemned to exile.

A chastisement more terrible came upon Pompeii from a neighbor she did not fear. In 63 Vesuvius, which had been quiet for thousands of years, became active, — without, however, opening its crater; and an earthquake took place which almost



CONTEST BETWEEN THE NUCERIANI AND THE POMPEIANS (PAINTING IN POMPEII).²

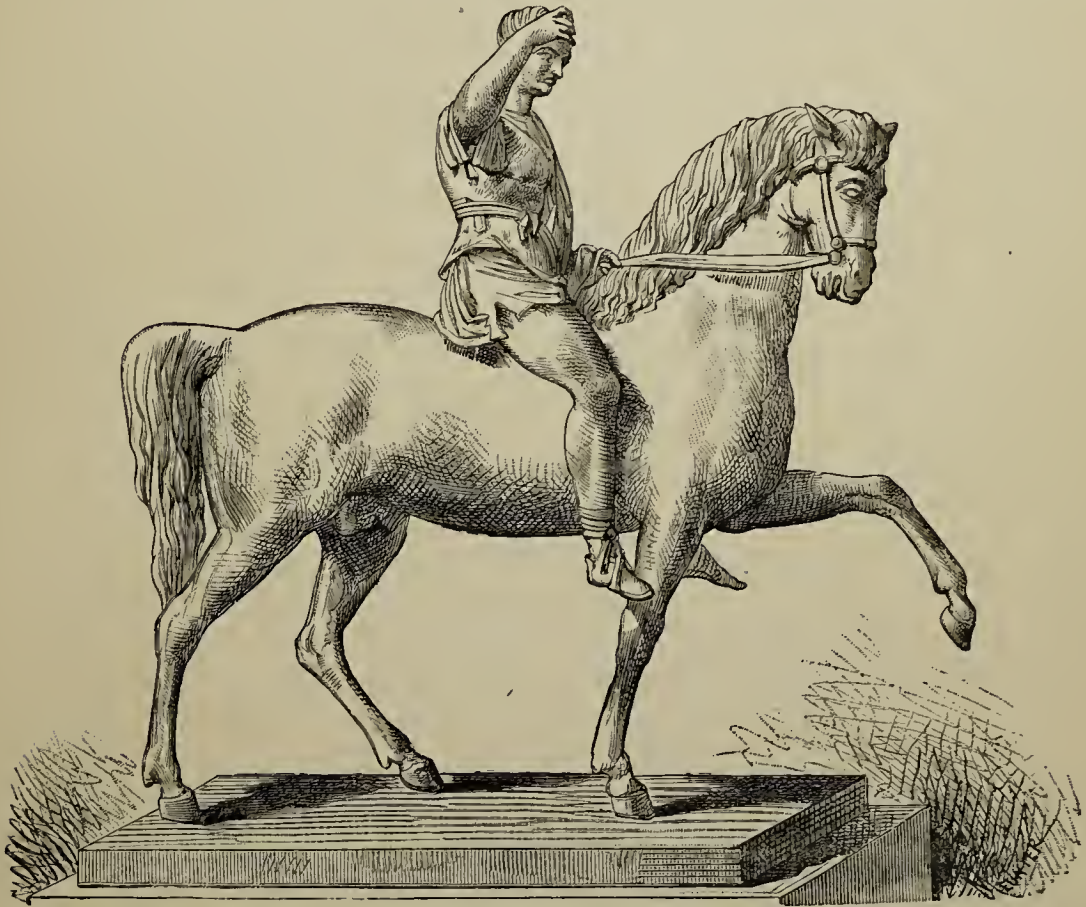
destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum. The inhabitants of the two cities, up to this time so prosperous, had accumulated great wealth, and they quickly rebuilt their ruined edifices. A citizen of Herculaneum, Nonius Balbus, at his own expense restored the city walls and the basilica; and we have statues still existing which his

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 17. In the year 61 Nero was obliged to write to the Laeedaemonians, reproaching them for their abuse of the liberty that had been allowed them (Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan. vita*, iv. 11).

² This fresco, now in the Museum of Naples, was discovered in May, 1869, near the amphitheatre. It was published in the *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei, nuova serie*, etc. (1868-1869), vol. i. tav. vii.

grateful fellow-citizens erected both to him and to his son and other members of his family.

Syracuse, one of the stations of the Alexandrian commerce, solicited the permission to celebrate more games during the year and to employ in the contests of the circus a larger number of combatants than the law allowed. Thrasea did this proposition the honor to oppose it. Perhaps the rigid Stoic saw farther than



THE YOUNGER BALBUS.¹

Tacitus understood, and had other reasons than those which the historian alleges for refusing to waive the law. He could judge what her amphitheatre, her distributions of corn, her idle populace, had made of Rome, and he dreaded for the cities of the provinces, so eager to imitate the capital, the same corruption and the same wretchedness. But no one listened to Thrasea; and this mania of taking Rome for a model was destined to extend to the most remote cities. For instance, the Treviri were all in the circus on the day when the Barbarians surprised their city.

¹ Marble statue found at Herculaneum.

Prosperity has no history; a gentle and peaceful life, passed in repose and comfort, flows on noiseless and unnoticed. The absence of events in the provinces would therefore be a reason for believing them prosperous, even had we no knowledge of the change which within a few years the most important of them underwent. Let any one compare the Spain of Strabo with that of Pliny, the Gaul of the one and that of the other. And yet between the two writers there is not half a century's interval. In the time with which we are now concerned are to be found two significant facts, the one belonging to the year 60, the other to 59. An earthquake had destroyed Laodiceia, one of the great cities of Asia. Its inhabitants rebuilt it from their own resources without deigning to solicit aid, which would not have been refused them;¹ but they were too rich to come before the Emperor as mendicants. Let a fire desolate the capital, however, and the provincials will offer what in like case they no longer ask for themselves, Lyons alone sending four million sesterces. Immense domains in the Cyrenaica, the property of Apion, a former king, belonged to the state; but they had been encroached upon, and Claudius had caused an exact investigation to be made by Acilius Strabo, the governor. The Cyrenians maintained that prescription was in their favor; but this was not correct, since the Roman laws did not admit that the rights of the state could ever be thus lost. The affair was referred by the Senate to the Emperor; who approved the *propraetor's* decisions, because they were legal, but yielded to the allies what they had usurped because equity and policy alike required it.² Such was the situation of the provincial cities, and such the spirit of the imperial government, even under Nero.

The chief importance was thus passing over to the vanquished. The first place in the Senate, as well as the first rank among Roman authors, belonged to a foreigner, the Spaniard Seneca; and he was the only person, on a day of needful modesty, to be astonished at this good fortune.³ At his side were living a whole colony of his fellow-countrymen, — his two brothers, Gallio and Mela, of whom the

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 27: *Nulla a nobis remedio, propriis opibus revaluit.* The liberal aid bestowed by Augustus and Tiberius in similar cases will be remembered, also the public works executed in the provinces. An inscription shows a procurator in Nero's reign reconstructing a road from Apamea to Nicaea, *vetustate collapsam* (*C. I. L.* iii. 346).

² Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 18:

³ *Ann.* xiv. 53.

former had been governor of Achaia and consul, while the latter had grown wealthy in financial posts; his nephew, Lucan, the poet; Martial, composer of epigrams which contain great wit, but greater obscenity, together with the meanest mendicancy; Pomponius Mela, the geographer; Quintilian, the rhetorician, who has been made the arbiter of eloquence, — of that, namely, which escapes all law, — but whose book is really a treatise upon education; finally, Columella of Gades, who had the courage to undertake at one and the same time to reconstruct the *Res rustica* of Cato, and Varro's work of the same title, and to complete the Georgics of Vergil.¹ This Spanish colony, which lacked no kind of literary ambition, eclipsed that of Gaul, which in earlier days had held the place of honor and given Rome Cornelius Gallus, the rival of Tibullus, Trogus Pompeius the historian, Votienus Montanus, one of the victims of Tiberius, and Domitius Afer, that Emperor's favorite historian. The Massilian Petronius, however, *elegantiae arbiter*, still ruled the fashion and the court. Africa was represented by Cornutus the Stoic, and Asia by Apollonius of Tyana, — who, however, never lingered long at Rome. Italy seemed to be exhausted; and, by the bitterness of her poets' words, showed the forsaken queen.

This literature of decay, where method takes the place of inspiration and the rules of the school are substituted for genius, — where a crowd of grammarians and rhetoricians teach, at the most moderate price, the art of inventing, after the spirit of invention is dead, — may be of interest to those curious in such matters; but history finds nothing in it, except some details of manners and a proof of the degeneracy of art. The philosophic writings of Seneca must be excepted, as they furnish useful information for the study of ideas. This provincial invasion was not profitable therefore to Latin literature, for the reason that the provincials of the West, the South, and the North had no native literature which could occasion a new and fruitful current in the national literature, such as were inspired in France at different epochs by Lopez de Vega, Shakspeare, and Goethe. Bringing nothing from their own provinces, they became the pupils of their masters, seeking to draw

¹ Some persons, but without good reason, have believed Silius Italicus, author of the very prosaic poem on the Second Punic War, to be a Spaniard. Spain also gave to Rome the consul Balbus and his brother, who was the first of the provincials to obtain a triumph.

from an exhausted spring. The best writers of the time until as late as the middle of the second century, Tacitus, Juvenal, and the elder and younger Pliny, were all Romans.¹

Public offices were also invaded: Gallio the Spaniard had command in Achaia, Vindex the Aquitanian in Lugdunensis, the Greek Florus in Judaea, the Jew Alexander in Egypt. The people of the provinces took very much in earnest their right of keeping watch upon the administration of the imperial magistrates, and the prosperity or disgrace of noble families at Rome depended upon the thanks or the complaints which, in behalf of his province, some islander or some Bithynian brought to the city. A governor of the Cyrenaica, accused by the inhabitants, was expelled from the Senate. Timarchus the Cretan boasted that he could cause the proconsuls who ruled his island to be recompensed or punished as he chose.

The old Roman party, who always regarded the provincials as conquered and subjects, were offended at their taking part in public affairs. Thræsea in the Senate, and Tacitus in his history, made themselves the organs of its resentment. "Formerly," the historian represents the orator as saying, "the nations trembled before us, awaiting the decisions of one man, praetor, proconsul, or mere deputy of the Senate. Now, it is we who carry our homage and our adulation to them. The meanest of them decrees thanks, or more frequently accusations, concerning us. Accordingly, each administration begins with firmness and ends feebly, our proconsuls now no longer being severe judges, but rather candidates who solicit the popular suffrage;" and not daring to take away from the provincials the right of claiming justice, he desired to prohibit them from asking for rewards. A *senatus-consultum* proposed by the Emperor, and doubtless drafted by Seneca—that provincial so unpopular in the provinces—forbade the local assemblies to concern themselves in future with questions of that kind. Thus was mutilated an ancient right, which, on the contrary, should have

¹ I am well aware of the deficiencies of the two Plinys, and, on the other hand, I grant that Lucan, in the matter of style, is often a great writer, that Martial has wit, Persius strength, and Quintilian uncommon accuracy; but at the risk of being accused of an historian's partiality for his own science, I would willingly relinquish them all to the professed student of literature, and retain four authors who at least teach me something of man, of Roman society, and of ancient science.

been extended under a new form. Happily, however, this decree quickly fell into desuetude, being abolished upon Nero's death.

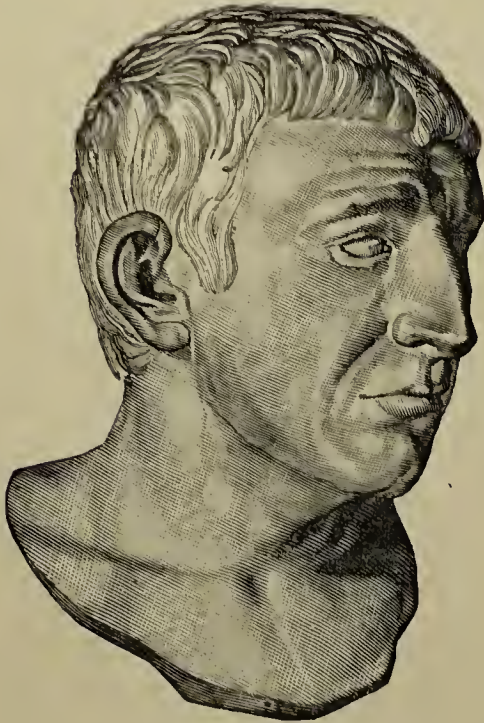
The provincials were busy, then, laying out roads, building bridges, cultivating the soil, and disputing with native-born Romans the honors of literature, and even the functions of the state. No doubt many of their great cities aped Rome, and life in them was no better than in the capital. But Tacitus speaks of the old Italian manners still preserved in the depths of the Apennines, and shows us the embarrassment of the provincial deputies who were present, with shame, at Nero's theatrical representations.¹ In the camps especially, among the legions who, since the days of Augustus, had been kept in the presence of danger and of the Barbarians, discipline, courage, and the habit of severe labor had been preserved. Thus is explained this contrast of insane rulers and an Empire at peace. The supremacy of Rome was so needful that it maintained itself. Up to that time the ancient world had lived under the rule of force. Notwithstanding much of tyranny and much of cruelty, it was now coming under the control of law, and its gratitude was not transient.

The first military events of Nero's reign had their theatre in the East. Since the year 54 A. D. the Parthians under Vologeses had been occupying Armenia. Prompt and energetic measures, namely, the filling up of the legions of Syria, the concession to the chiefs of Lesser Armenia and Sophene of the title of king in order to secure their fidelity, the building of bridges over the Euphrates, the sending of Corbulo into the East, and the putting forward of a rival to Vologeses, decided this king to give hostages;² but his brother Tiridates still remained in possession of Armenia. Corbulo, hampered by the rivalry of Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, who had been associated with him, and still more by the disorganization of the army of the East, had not been able to do more. Being left alone in the command by his colleague's death, he employed three years in restoring discipline, which a lengthened residence in the effeminate Syrian cities had impaired among the troops. He sent home the veterans, obtained

¹ *Ann.* xvi. 5. See Vol. V. chap. lxxxiii.

² *Tac., Ann.* xiii. 8, 9. In respect to the Armenian wars, see the careful work of Egli, in the *Untersuchungen* of Max Büdinger (Zurich, 1868).

a legion from Germany, with Galatian and Cappadocian auxiliaries, and retained them all in tents, even during the winter, preaching by example as well as by word, laboring himself, bareheaded, in the intrenchments. When he was sure of his legions, and, moreover, saw Vologeses occupied by an insurrection in his eastern provinces, he invaded Armenia, baffled the intrigues and defeated the attacks of Tiridates, and made himself master of the capital, Artaxata, which he set on fire. With extreme fatigues, he made his way from the valley of the Araxes into that of the Tigris,

CORBULO.²

and captured Tigranocerta. He had thus twice traversed almost the whole of Armenia, and this kingdom appeared to be conquered; Tigranes, the grandson of a former king of Cappadocia, was sent from Rome to take command of it, and Corbulo left to the new prince some of his own troops. "To render the administration less difficult," says Tacitus, "Corbulo gave to his allies, the kings of Iberia, Pontus, Lesser Armenia, and Commagene, the Armenian districts bordering on their respective states (60 A. D.)."¹

But Tigranes, just emerging from the luxurious life of Rome to play the conqueror, had the audacity to provoke the Parthians by invading Adiabene. At the news of this outrage, Vologeses, urged by his chief men, abandoned the war in Hyrcania, and made formidable preparations against Tigranes. Even Corbulo took alarm at this national outburst, and asked for a second general to defend Armenia while he himself upon the Euphrates would meet the main attack of the Barbarians. But this division of forces brought disaster. Corbulo did indeed prevent the Parthians from invading Syria, but Caesennius Paetus, who was in command

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 23-26.

² Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Philosophers, No. 48.

in Armenia, allowed himself to be defeated and shut up in his camp with what remained of two legions. His courage and patience being quickly exhausted, he negotiated with Vologeses, promised to withdraw from Armenia, and brought back into Cappadocia his disgraced standards (62 A. D.). This defeat enhanced the fame of Corbulo, and, after holding counsel with the chief senators, Nero invested Corbulo with powers almost as extensive as had been those of Pompey against Mithridates. Augustus and Tiberius intrusted these great powers only to princes of the imperial family; but the palace was empty around Nero; not a person of the Julian family remained alive: hence he was compelled to resort to a *parvenu* soldier, who soon also became an object of suspicion. Corbulo was not obliged to fight: Vologeses sued for peace and upon the very scene of his recent triumphs; and the Roman, forgetting Tigranes, his late *protégé* promised to recognize Tiridates, if the brother of the Parthian king would, in the presence of the legions, lay aside his diadem, and then go to Rome to accept from the hands of Nero the crown of Armenia (63 A. D.).² The Empire thus retained its advantages,

TIRIDATES, KING OF ARMENIA.¹¹ Museum of the Louvre, No. 446.² Tac., *Ann.* xv. 24-32. This coronation did not, however, occur until the year 66.

Armenia remaining a subject state, as Augustus and Tiberius had desired, and as the security of the Asiatic provinces demanded. A Parthian war was always unpopular at Rome; ever since the time of Crassus and Antony it had caused uneasiness. The success of Corbulo, therefore, occasioned general rejoicing, and coins of the year bear a representation of the altar of peace.¹



ARMENI-
ACUS.²

It had been possible without risk to withdraw, for this war, troops from Pannonia and the banks of the Rhine, for all along that frontier prevailed a profound peace never once impaired during this reign. Plautius Aelianus, the first conqueror of Britain under Claudius, commanded in Moesia. This skilful general, deprived of part of his forces, which had been called away by Corbulo, nevertheless caused the Roman name to be held in respect upon the Danube. He treated with the Bastarnae and the Roxolani, and required many kings, till then unknown to the Romans, to come into his camp to pay homage to the standards of the legions and the portraits of the Emperor. He even carried his authority far beyond the limits of Moesia, forcing the Scythians to raise the siege of a town situated beyond the Borysthenes, and he instructed the Roman officers how to obtain great quantities of corn from



KNEELING PAR-
THIAN PRE-
SENTING A
STANDARD.³



THE ALTAR OF PEACE
(BRONZE COIN).

those countries where nature so liberally provides the sources of an inexhaustible fertility. The right bank of the Danube having been depopulated, he transported thither a hundred thousand Barbarians, taking care to disperse them in separate villages, and mingle them with Roman colonists, in order to habituate them to the arts of peace. The prosperity of these lately desolate regions was rapid; a century and a half later, all the strength of the Empire seemed to have taken refuge there.⁴

¹ Eckhel, *Doctr. num.* vi. 268; Cohen, i. *Nero*, n. 86-90, and Supplement N, n. 9-13.

² Victory holding a palm and a wreath. Silver coin commemorating the victories in Armenia.

³ Reverse of a silver coin of the Petronian family, one of whom was consul under Nero.

⁴ Upon the tomb of the Plautii, at the Ponte Lucano, near Tivoli, can still be read the very interesting epitaph of Plautius Aelianus, relating his services and the honors that he received. Cf. Orelli, No. 750.

In the valley of the Middle Danube, the Suevi of Moravia remained peaceful, and the Mareomanni had not rallied from their disasters. Farther up the river the work of colonizing went on in the *agri decumates* which lay about the headwaters of the great river, and in Helvetia. Thus the legions of Upper Germany saw no enemies, and those of the Lower Rhine had only now and then some skirmish on the outposts. On one occasion some Frisians undertook to make a settlement upon lands lying unoccupied and unclaimed; and a few of the auxiliary cavalry were enough to drive them out. Upon this they sent to Rome to ask permission to establish themselves upon the lands in question. While in Rome, being taken to the theatre, they saw, seated upon the senatorial benches, individuals in foreign costume. "These are deputies," they were told, "of brave and faithful nations, to whom the Emperor grants this honor." "There are none more brave and more faithful than the Germans," they rejoined, and, amid the applause of all present, they seated themselves beside the foreign deputies.

Notwithstanding their protestations of devotion, the request of the Frisians was denied. Shortly after, a more powerful tribe, the Ansibarii, driven out by the Chauei, solicited an establishment on the banks of the Rhine. Their chief was an old warrior who had served under Tiberius and under Germanicus. He came, he said, to crown an attachment which had lasted fifty years, by putting his nation under the authority of Rome. As in the case of the Frisians, they were harshly bidden to retire, and upon information that they were forming an alliance with the neighboring tribes, the legions were set in motion. At the mere rumor of the Roman advance, the whole region at once became quiet. The Ansibarii, thus left alone, fell back, begging an asylum everywhere, which was on all sides refused them, as if the wrath of Rome pursued them into the very heart of Germany. They wandered in poverty and distress among the Usipii and the Tubantes, and then among the Catti and Cherusei, marking their road with the bones of their chiefs, so that soon there appeared to be nothing left of the once powerful tribe, and Tacitus believed it destroyed.¹ It was destined, however, to reappear later; and,

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 54-56.

under the formidable name of Franks, the Ansibarii presently entered as conquerors the Roman world, in which they had once presented themselves as suppliants.

To drive back the Germans from the left bank of the Rhine was good policy, if it did not have the effect of creating a desert between Gaul and the Barbarians. In denying themselves peaceful conquests, they prevented that radiating influence of Roman civilization which would have awakened industry, trade, and social life on the right bank of the river, a more secure barrier than the belt of depopulated country into which the bravest of the Barbarians were sure to advance so soon as they became conscious that the sword of Caesar, of Drusus, Germanicus, and Tiberius, was beginning to tremble in the hand of the Empire. But Augustus had said there must be no more war with the Germans. To encourage their quarrels was esteemed the better policy; and, from the Roman intrenchments upon the Rhine and the Danube, to watch their internecine conflicts, as in the amphitheatre the combats of gladiators. "This summer," says Tacitus (58 A. D.), "the Herman-duri and the Catti had a great battle, the latter being defeated. Both parties had agreed to devote to Mars and Mercury the conquered army. Conformably to this vow, men and horses, and all that belonged to the Catti, were exterminated. Thus the Barbarians turned their fury upon each other." Elsewhere he says: "The Bructeri were driven out and annihilated by a league of neighboring nations, whom a hatred of their pride, the desire of plunder, and perhaps the special favor of the gods towards us, had raised up against them. We were not even refused by heaven the sight of the combat. Sixty thousand Barbarians fell, not beneath the sword of the Romans, but — a thing more to be admired — before their eyes and for their gratification. May it be that the nations, if they have no love for Rome, shall at least persevere in this hatred of one another, since Fortune has henceforth nothing more to offer us than the disasters of our enemies!"¹

With this policy of peace, there remained to the generals no other means of attracting the Emperor's attention than to employ their troops in useful labors. Corbulo set the example of this under Claudius; two of Nero's lieutenants undertook, one, to finish

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 57, and *Germ.* 33.

the dike commenced sixty-three years before by Drusus to keep back the Rhine; the other, to cut the plateau of Langres for the purpose of connecting the Moselle with the Saône. This latter undertaking failed through the jealousy of the governor of Belgica, and for eighteen hundred years no one dared carry into execution the grand conception of the Roman general.¹

In Britain the limits of the Roman possessions were somewhat ill-defined; neither the northern nor the western parts of the island were subdued. Under Didius Gallus and under Veranius, his successor, there were constant difficulties. To make an end of these troubles, Suetonius Paulinus the rival in military renown of Corbulo, decided to cross the western mountains and lay hands upon the very sanctuary of the Druidic faith, — the island of Mona (Anglesey), where sat the high college of priests, and whence issued exhortations, and counsels, and plans of revolt.³

The island is separated from Britain by a narrow channel, and the soldiers hesitated for a moment when they saw on the opposite shore a crowd of Druids, among whom women ran about, like Furies, in funereal dress,



MERCURY (MUSEUM OF LYONS).²

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 53. The canal making a junction between the Saône and the Moselle is now completed.

² Statuette of dark green bronze (Comarmond, *Descript.*, etc., pl. 8, No. 61).

³ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 29; *Agric.* 14.

with streaming hair, and waving lighted torches. Meanwhile the Druids, with hands raised to heaven, pronounced horrible imprecations. The conflict was, however, speedily terminated; the venerable forests of the Druids were cut down, and their rude altars, whereon they sought, from the entrails of human victims, to learn the will of Hesus and Taranis, were broken to pieces by the legionaries. This was the last stand made by the Druids against the power of Rome.

At the same moment a revolt broke out in the rear of the army. The king of the Iceni had bequeathed to Nero half his possessions. Burdensome taxes, notwithstanding, were laid upon his people, who were also urged to great extravagances, for which Roman bankers furnished the funds at ruinous rates, Seneca being, by the testimony of Dion, one of these pitiless usurers. The king of the Iceni had believed his family at least secured by his gift to the Emperor; but his wife Boadicea and his two daughters were notwithstanding subjected to the most brutal violence. In the absence of Suetonius, the centurions and veterans of Camulodunum (Colchester) committed excesses of every kind, driving the Britons from their houses and fields, and treating them as captives rather than as subjects. These disorders did not extend beyond the territory of the new colony; but Decianus, the procurator, oppressed the whole province; and a swarm of Italians and provincials came down upon it, who seized upon all that the country produced, more especially the lead and tin of the mines, sending these metals over into Gaul in great quantities. More than a hundred thousand foreigners were already established in Britain, so quickly did Roman civilization extend over the territory opened to it. Londinium, on the Tamesis, was already the central mart of an extensive commerce; Vernulamium¹ was hardly inferior to it in wealth; many other cities were growing up with the institutions and manners of Italy. Camulodunum was distinguished by a temple and priesthood of "the divine Claudius." It was but eighteen years before that the legions had landed in the island. This invasion in time of peace, these foreign customs, this taking possession of Britain by a strange people, roused the eastern tribes even more than did the exactions

¹ Near St. Albans.

of procurators and the rapacity of usurers.¹ Boadicea put herself at their head; Camulodunum was taken and burned; a legion partly destroyed; London and Verulam were seized, and their inhabitants, men, women, and children, put to the sword or crucified. Eighty thousand allies or citizens perished.²

Suetonius, hastening from the island of Mona, had been able to gather only ten thousand men. He offered battle, however, to the immense army of Barbarians, through whose ranks Boadicea rode in her chariot, her two daughters by her side, calling upon them to avenge her honor and their own liberty. "To-day," she cried, "we conquer, or we die; and I will set you the example." The battle was such as it must have been with a general and soldiers like those who that day defended the cause of Rome. There remained dead upon the battle-field, it is said, about eighty thousand Barbarians, men and women, for the Britons had brought their wives with them to behold their victory. Boadicea kept her word, dying by poison upon the battle-field. The province at once fell back under the yoke (61 A. D.).³ But Suetonius lost his command. Denounced at Rome by the imperial procurator on account of his severity, he beheld one of Nero's freedmen sent out to examine into his conduct; and the illustrious general was recalled on the report of a man who had been a slave (61 A. D.).

The Roman legions thus maintained their ancient fame in the West, as well as in the East; and, thanks to their courage, the Empire might have been believed still under the direction of its early chiefs. But this skill and moderation in the imperial government were due entirely to two men, Burrus and Seneca. Of these the former died in 62, not without suspicion of poison; and Nero appointed as his successor the corrupt Sophonius Tigellinus. Rendered anxious by his isolated position, Seneca desired to quit the court and give up his immense wealth to his master; but the latter considered this a slur upon his friendship, and refused to part with the philosopher. Seneca, however, while still keeping his possessions, dismissed his followers, closed his house, and, under

¹ According to Dion, lxii. 2, the cause of the revolt was a claim, made by Seneca, of ten million denarii, and the repayment of a loan sanctioned by Claudius.

² Dion, lxii. 1; Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 33) says "more than seventy thousand."

³ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 29-40; *Agric.* 16. Suetonius says (*Nero*, 18) that the Emperor thought for a time of abandoning the province, which is hardly credible.

pretext of studious pursuits, separated himself from public affairs.¹ But it was too soon and too late; especially, too late. With Burrus dead and Seneca no longer in power, tyranny broke loose. If it had already shown itself by terrible signs, it had at least struck at long intervals; now that Tigellinus and Poppaea were supreme at court, we come back to the frenzies and cruelties of Caligula. It is not that Nero had changed. He was kept in check before; he was stimulated now, and his first excesses brought on others still greater. Tigellinus had been

LAURELLED NERO.²

appointed praetorian prefect with Faenius Rufus; this division of authority gave him but half the position of Burrus, and to secure the whole he flattered the caprices and dislikes of the Emperor. He asserted that Sylla, who had been banished to Marseilles, and Plautus, to Asia, were endeavoring to incite to insurrection the armies of the Rhine and the Euphrates. Nero sent for their heads; the one was killed at table, and the other while employed in his customary exercises of the gymnasiun.³

To seal his alliance with Poppaea, Tigellinus urged Nero to divorce Octavia, and a pretext of adultery with an Egyptian slave was manufactured. The freedwomen of the Empress were put to the torture; some gave way before the severity of their sufferings, but most of them remained firm, one of them retorting upon Tigellinus with a terrible answer.⁴ The divorcee was nevertheless pronounced, and Octavia, removed from the palace and then from Rome, was sent away under a guard of soldiers into Campania. The populace—who for the fate of the Empire and for the life or death of the nobles usually felt the most complete indifference, and especially the women, who regarded conjugal infidelity as far more shocking than any civil crime—were much attached to this daughter of Claudius, whose mother and father and brother had been murdered, and who, at the age of twenty, was now driven from her throne by a woman of the vilest character. When news of this spread through the streets

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 51–56.² Great bronze of the *Cabinet de France*.³ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 57–59.⁴ *Ibid.* 60–64.

of Rome, murmurs began to be heard, not secretly, as among the ex-consuls, but quite loudly: the people could venture further than the nobles, having less to fear than they. Nero was far from brave; he took the alarm, and Octavia was recalled. At once the crowd flocked rejoicing to the Capitol, thanking the gods: they overthrew Poppaea's statues and covered those of Octavia with flowers, and, for the first time in very many years making a riot in the name of outraged morality, they made their way into the palace with cries of hatred and contempt for the new Empress. But soldiers armed with whips appeared upon the scene, and the servile crowd made a cowardly retreat.

The vengeance of Poppaea was terrible. The information obtained from Octavia's women had been of a character to convict no one. It became necessary to devise an infamous scheme. Anicetus, that prefect of the fleet who had assassinated

POPPAEA.¹

Agrippina, was a man capable of anything; he was summoned, and was told that, as lately he had rid his imperial master of a mother, he must now free him from his wife. This time, however, it was not to be done by a bold stroke or crafty thrust of dagger. The prefect was to avow himself Octavia's lover, and then submit to a mild exile. Great wealth was promised him as a reward, and it was certain that death would be the penalty of refusal. Anicetus did not hesitate; he loudly boasted of Octavia's favors.

¹ Museum of the Louvre.

then disappeared from Rome, sent to enjoy opulent infamy in Sardinia. Nero at once publicly accused Octavia, not only of infidelity, but of an intrigue with Anicetus to excite mutiny in the fleet at Misenum; she was banished to the Island of Pandataria, whither a sentence of death shortly followed her. The unhappy young woman had not the stoical courage which the times required; she was reluctant to die; her tears and entreaties, however, did not change the centurion's firmness; her veins were opened, but terror had so chilled her blood that it did not flow, and the assassins ended by smothering her in a hot bath. Her head was carried to Rome and given to Poppaea: it was the custom in the palace to make sure in this way that orders had been fulfilled.

There were others almost equally guilty with the three chief conspirators in this infamous tragedy. The Senate, in thanking the gods for saving Nero from the machinations of Octavia, decreed that public offerings should be made in all the temples. In those days the senators of Rome were baser than her populace.

A number of freedmen were shortly after this put to death, Poppaea being desirous to renew the imperial household. Doryphorus was poisoned because he had opposed the marriage; Pallas, on account of his enormous wealth;¹ Seneca, even, was made uneasy by an accusation. The birth of a daughter about this time greatly increased Poppaea's favor with the Emperor. To celebrate the event the Senate voted temples and gladiatorial combats. But scarcely were the rejoicings ended, when the infant died, and Nero's grief was as extreme as his joy. The Conscript Fathers consoled him by making his daughter a goddess.

In this fickle and violent nature no impression lasted long. Unworthy pleasures and shameful debauchery came next, and, his passion for the theatre again asserting itself, he hastened to Naples to give the populace the pleasure of hearing that divine voice which hitherto had charmed the courtiers only. This experiment seems not to have been very successful, for he began to talk of going over into Achaia, — the Greeks being the only people who knew how to listen, he said. He took great pains, however, to drill his audience. Certain young knights, with a troop of five

¹ Dion (lxiv. 14) and Suetonius (*Nero*, 35) have no doubt of this. Tacitus, for once more reserved, says only, *creditus est* (*Ann.* xiv. 65).

hundred plebeians divided into cohorts and trained in the proper methods of applauding, followed him wherever he went. They were called the *Augustiani*, and their leaders had a salary of forty thousand sesterces.¹ The Roman populace, fearing for their subsistence if the ruler were away, detained him in the city: the head of the Empire was for them, principally, the person in charge

of supplies. Nero, who was besides prevented from going by an evil omen, remained in the city, and manifested his gratitude for a popularity whose motives he misjudged. He went upon the stage in Rome itself and sang to the assembled populace. The Senate, in the hope of preventing this disgrace, decreed him the prizes in advance; but he would not have it. "I have no need," he said, "either to canvass or to accept the Senate's vote; I desire to contend on an equal footing with my rivals, and to receive nothing but what is justly my due." And he

did, in fact, submit himself to all the rules imposed upon the public singer of that time: he must not sit down, nor cough or spit, nor wipe his brow except with a corner of his robe, and after he had done singing, he must bend the knee and stretch out his hand towards the audience, and, with a timid air, ask for the decision of the judges. But no man was safe to trust to this



NERO CITHAROEDUS.²

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 15; Suet., *Nero*, 25; Dion, lxi. 20.

² Statue found upon the Esquiline (Vatican, *Museo Pio-Clem.* vol. iii. pl. 4).

attitude of humility, for the law of treason, and informers and soldiers posted among the benches, watched over the vain artist, and it was a crime to applaud faintly or seem indifferent. Vespasian narrowly escaped with his life for having fallen asleep a moment during these performances, which lasted for days.

At other times Nero made the public places of Rome scenes of infamous orgies. The story of the banquet of Tigellinus on



NERO SINGING.²

the banks of Agrippa's pond is told by Tacitus;¹ but we may not relate it, even from that grave and serious author. To the same effect is the testimony of Petronius, an author who may be read, but not quoted. We must desist from the attempt

to depict this frantic world, these heirs of Cato and of Brutus, intoxicated with prosperity and wealth and empire; forgetful of a past which they could not comprehend; careless of a future which they had no desire to penetrate, believing as they did in the power of a fate which marched irresistibly onward; and all the more eager to enjoy and to use in the most exciting debauchery the present moment, of which alone they felt sure. Fashioned in slime and blood, as was said of Tiberius, these men trifled alike with life, and shame, and death; garlanded with flowers, they poured out poison; between two pleasures there was a murder; the fatal blow was given without remorse and received almost without regret, as, when a drunken revel is over, the wearied guests break the glasses and fall exhausted upon the floor.

¹ *Ann.* xv. 37; cf. *Dion.* lxii. 23; lxiii. 13.

² PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. IMP. PP. SC. Nero standing, laurel-crowned, in a long robe, singing and accompanying himself on the lyre. Medium bronze.

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